

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

VOL. VI, No. 2

MARCH, 1917

TOTAL No. 22

POLITICAL PARTIES IN CITY GOVERNMENT: A RECONSIDERATION OF OLD VIEW POINTS*

POLITICS AND CITY GOVERNMENT

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THE theme assigned to me, obviously, could be viewed from many angles. It would not be a transgression of the limits of the subject if I were to make an excursion into utopian politics and sketch a new "City of the Sun," assigning to political parties their proper place in my dream-made republic. Should I devote the time allotted to me to this profitless undertaking, I should start out by saying with the great chief justice, John Marshall, that nothing more debases and pollutes the human mind than partisan politics. When we see men otherwise just and fair in their judgments vilifying, maligning, and slandering their opponents, even in unimportant political campaigns, those of us who are not enamoured of billingsgate are moved to exclaim that political parties have no place at all in a rational society. But this would be a vain flying in the face of the hard and unpleasant facts of life and a vain longing for the impossible.

¹ See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. vi, p. 172.

* EDITORIAL NOTE. One of the most stimulating discussions at the Springfield meeting of the National Municipal League was that of the time-honored question of non-partisanship in municipal affairs. The whole subject was re-examined in the light of recent experience, and from new standpoints. The several addresses and the discussions are reproduced in sequence, although some are much shorter than others and really should appear under the head of short articles. Some of the papers deal with theory, some with actual experience in cities where non-partisanship has been legally adopted by the city, or as in Chicago, where it has been forced as an issue by the municipal voters' league. All of the men participating in the discussion have been actively identified with

Viewing the subject from a practical angle we may inquire whether the issues which divide men and women into national parties are issues which have any relation to municipal questions as such. The facile reformer usually answers in the negative. It is true that there seems to be no connection between ship subsidies, tariff, labor legislation, farm loans, and kindred matters and the problems that arise in our great urban centres. Superficially there is none. But I cannot be too emphatic when I say that not a single one of our really serious municipal questions—poverty, high cost of living, overcrowding, unemployment, low standards of life, physical degeneracy—can be solved, can be even approached by municipalities without the co-operation of the state and national government, and the solution of these problems calls for state and national parties. No big vision of this mighty nation as it is to be can exclude from its range an economy which is both urban and rural, one and truly indivisible.

Of course, speaking practically there is no real division between the Republicans and the Democrats on municipal issues. The usual slogans

the League in various capacities and are deeply interested in the promotion of honest and efficient democratic government in our cities.

The only paper which was not presented at Springfield is that of Mr. Hull, but it is pertinent to the discussion and gives the views of a public-spirited officeholder who has been interested in municipal affairs for many years. Mr. Hull has served as a member of the Illinois house of representatives and is now a member of the Illinois state senate. He was formerly a member of the council of the National Municipal League and is the founder of the Morton Denison Hull prize for post-graduate students in municipal government, which the League has been offering now for some years past. Professor Beard is associate professor of politics at Columbia University. W. D. Lighthall is the honorary secretary of the Union of Canadian Municipalities and was at one time mayor of Westmount, a city near Montreal. Mr. Dougherty was not only a lifelong friend of Seth Low, but has been identified with practically all the important movements for the improvement of municipal conditions in Brooklyn and Greater New York. John J. Murphy has been commissioner of tenements for a number of years and was at one time secretary of the citizens' union of New York. Robert J. Bottomly is the present secretary of the good government league of Boston. A. Leo Weil is the president of the Pittsburgh civic league and was in the forefront of the investigations and prosecutions which cleaned up the noisome mess which the old condition of affairs made possible and almost inevitable. Robert S. Binkerd has been secretary of the city club of New York for some years and prior to that was secretary of the citizens' union. Professor Albert Bushnell Hart is the Dorman B. Eaton professor of government at Harvard.

In introducing Professor Beard, President Purdy said: "We are to hear to-night a discussion of political parties in city government. It is very appropriate that the first speaker should be a professor of politics. And that leads me to say a very few words on a hobby of mine: You will doubtless recall that the word 'politician' is commonly used to describe one who knows nothing of the practice and theory of government, and the term 'politician' is used to describe, perhaps, those whom you have been taught to abhor and with whom you are unfamiliar. Personally, I would desire to rescue the word 'politics' from those connotations and to dignify the word 'politician' so as to mean what it really does mean: a person skilled in the art of government. The gentleman who will address you teaches persons to understand the art of government: Prof. Charles A. Beard."

of economy, efficiency, and good management are accepted by both of them. No party is willing to advocate waste, inefficiency, and bad management. The Socialist party is the only party that has a complete program of public economy which includes national and state and city issues. That is a program of collectivism, public ownership and operation of the great utilities or economic processes upon which all depend for a livelihood. We may or may not approve of that program, but we cannot deny that it is a consistent municipal, state, and national program. Neither can we deny that the Socialists are both logical and sound, from their point of view, when they insist upon maintaining a municipal party organization and linking it up with the state and national organization. Insisting that not a single great problem of social economy is purely or even primarily municipal, the Socialists rightly stick to a unified party organization. Up to the present time, however, they have been almost negligible factors in most of our great cities, and as we are not here concerned with prophecy or speculation we may leave them out of account.

I have said above that there is no real division between the Republicans and Democrats on municipal issues, but I do not mean that issues create parties. On the contrary I think the causes of party division lie deeper than superficial paper declarations of party principles. Issues are more frequently pretexts than causes of partisanship. That profound statesman, Alexander Hamilton, said in the convention that framed the constitution of the United States: "All communities divide themselves into the few and the many. The first are the rich and the well-born, the other the mass of the people." I think we have in that laconic statement more information on the place of political parties in municipal government than in all the literature that has been issued by the reformers since the foundation of this republic. Disparity in the kinds and distribution of property, as the father of our constitution, James Madison, said, is the most fundamental cause of parties and factions in all ages and all places.

Of other cities I have little knowledge, but I know something about the history of parties in the city of New York, from the days of Jefferson to the days of Mitchel. By a long and painstaking study of election returns, ward maps, occupations, and wealth distribution, I arrived at the conclusion that the first great party division in New York city—that between the Federalists and the Jeffersonian Republicans—was a division between "wealth and talents" on the one hand and the masses on the other hand. Anyone interested in the facts will find them on pp. 383-387 of my *Economic Origins of Jeffersonian Democracy*. The studies I made for that work have been carried forward with great skill, accuracy and ingenuity by one of my colleagues, Mr. Dixon R. Fox, who has now completed the maps of the elections by wards down until 1840. He finds that in every great contest the "wealth and talents" were in the main with the Federalists or later the Whigs, while the masses were Democrats. I believe that

fundamental division exists to-day in our great northern cities. I do not mean to say that there are not wealth and talents in the Democratic party, but I do contend that the center of gravity of wealth is on the Republican side while the center of gravity of poverty is on the Democratic side. Anyone who wants official confirmation of this view may read President Wilson's *New Freedom*.

Of course in the smaller cities like Des Moines, Iowa, or Dayton, Ohio, where the area of the great industrial proletariat is not large and where distinctions of group and class are not marked, the materials for party divisions are not so obvious and so persistent. In the south cities are few and new, and there are special problems. As Plato and Aristotle long ago pointed out where there is similarity and approximate equality of property interests, there unity and stability may take the place of divisions and contests. To anyone really interested in the profound philosophical problem set by the theme of my paper I commend a long and prayerful study of Aristotle's *Politics*. There he will find more genuine information on the subject than in all the books that have ever been written on American government. Speaking, therefore, not as a prophet or an advocate, I should say that parties are inevitable and unavoidable in modern society.

By that I do not mean to say that the corruption and excesses which have characterized political organizations in our great cities will continue unabated. On the contrary, I look forward with confidence to a diminution in corruption, partly on account of the increasing number of independent voters who cannot be counted upon to follow slavishly the dictates of leaders, but mainly on account of the fact that the opportunities for corruption are now materially reduced. There will be no more boards of "forty thieves" in New York disposing of Broadway franchises, not because we are better than our fathers but because the Broadway franchise has been disposed of and made perpetual. With more than 95 per cent of our surface railway franchises granted in perpetuity in New York city we may feel reasonably secure from the attacks of franchise grabbers masked as party organizations.

In other words, to use academic terminology, the law of diminishing returns has set in against municipal corruption in its grosser forms, and so we may expect to see an increasing number of the so-called "interests" becoming good and non-partisan. They are like Great Britain. Having possession of the earth, she is for peace and the *status quo*. Certain financial groups in New York that formerly looked with kindly toleration on Tammany, having "got theirs," are now for efficiency and economy. Providence works in mysterious ways His wonders to perform, and those who are weary of Tweed rings and gas scandals may look forward with confidence and hope. The age of great graft in our cities is over; we have eaten our cake. We shall be bothered with petty graft, but that is not

so dangerous to public morals. But we shall have parties for such a long time in the future that we need not make our last will and testament now.

If this analysis is correct then those of us who dwell in large cities must arrange to live and work with parties. Rural villages may experiment with "non-partisanship." From what I can gather from newspapers and gossip with visitors from non-partisanship cities of any size, the abolition of city parties by statutory devices is a delusion. Perhaps some of the delegates from Boston will inform us whether there are any Democrats or Republicans in the city government there. Of course some one will rise up from Dayton and tell us that utopia is there, but some of us skeptics from the east must be pardoned if we do not rewrite our entire political science in the light of three years' experience of an Ohio city, whose population is about equal to the annual increment in the population of New York. I know of nothing more amusing than the report of the first trial of the "new non-partisan election system" in San Francisco, reported by the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW in its first number. The reporter told us that the results of the same were "generally considered satisfactory," and then proceeded: "A candidate has but to secure ten electors to take the sponsor's oath, to get his name printed on the primary ballot. No candidate succeeded, however, unless he was backed by a large organization. Six such organizations took part in the contest: the municipal conference, the good government league, the Republican, Democratic, Union Labor, and Socialist parties. The first four combined on James Rolph, Jr., a prominent shipowner, as a candidate for mayor and had many other candidates in common. The Union Labor party put forward Mayor McCarthy and a straight ticket. The Socialists named Wm. McDevitt." Surely an Irishman wrote this account of a "genuine, non-partisan" election under a non-partisan law.

In fact, I am prepared to defend the thesis that non-partisanship has not worked, does not work, and will not work in any major city in the United States. We have plenty of non-partisan election laws designed to smash party organizations. We also have direct primary laws designed to take nominations out of the hands of party leaders. I think these laws have in many instances put a wholesome fear in the minds of political leaders, but I do not believe that they have permanently reduced the power of the expert political minority that manages public affairs.

To come right down to practical conclusions, I should make the following summary: (1) that the causes of parties lie deeper than election laws or most so-called issues; (2) that the causes of parties being social and economic, we must expect the continued existence of party organizations in our municipal affairs; (3) that the task before the reformer is not the enactment of non-partisan laws but the development of legislation and public opinion which will make parties responsible for their conduct of municipal government; (4) that fusion is a temporary process better cal-

culated to frighten and educate party leaders than to develop a unified and well-planned city administration; (5) the independent, self-directing citizens are relatively few in any community or party but education will widen that number and from them we may expect a check upon the party extravagance which has disgraced so many of our cities; (6) that men who want wise and just government in cities are likely to do as much good by co-operating with parties and insisting upon the establishment of sound party policies and genuine party responsibility as they are by running to the legislature for new non-partisan election laws; (7) that there is a power, not in legislation, that worketh for righteousness.

THE ELIMINATION OF POLITICAL PARTIES IN CANADIAN CITIES

BY W. D. LIGHTHALL, K.C.

Montreal

THE reason why I am called to address you to-day is that I come from a land whose people, in a true and profound sense, are part of your people, bone of your bone, sinew of your sinew, speech of your speech, spirit of your spirit; who, pervaded with the atmosphere of ideals and circumstances of this continent are, in the broad meaning, as American as you; and who, in their origin and growth, are in substance an overflow of the population of these United States. Before the revolution, New England people had begun to found what are now our provinces, and after the revolution the great basis of our population was laid by the loyalist refugees from every state, and by perhaps an equal number of others than loyalists who followed the rich opportunities of our territory. Even to-day one of the best and largest sources of our immigration is the stream of hundreds of thousands of American farmers who have taken up our western lands. I might go further, into a historical digression, and show that the British Empire, itself, had its origin among those same men of vision who gave birth to the idea of the united colonies. Both of those ideas began together before the revolution. It was our common American ancestors who dreamed them—the greatest political visions in the world.

It is, therefore, not surprising that our municipal institutions are essentially American—essentially on the same patterns as your own, with differences rather of experimentation and local accident than of structure. One of those local accidents is a very fortunate one—the elimination of political parties from our municipal politics. In this, perhaps, we may contribute something to your information, just as we constantly learn innumerable things from your municipal experience. Between Canada and the United States there is a great contrast in this matter.

We see with astonishment such things as Republican or Democratic control in the governments of your cities, tickets of candidates representing Republicans or Democrats, the evils of general party rancour introduced into local affairs, and too often we hear of the spoils system playing an only too important part in the result. In Canada, on the other hand, a party ticket in municipal affairs is unknown. A man's party opinions may gain him some votes, but merely in the same way as his association with the masons or the independent order of moose have made him some incidental friends. The mere suggestion that party strife entered into

the matter would arouse strong opposition among the voters and in most cases the candidate would be fain to publicly repudiate the suggestion in order not to lose his election. In short the introduction of party issues and shibboleths nearly everywhere in Canada is regarded as a dangerous and outlawed principle.

Just how this has come to be is somewhat difficult to determine. Certainly it was not so in our early municipal elections, eighty years ago, which were of a highly spicy and unladylike variety. Now, on the contrary, it is a fair statement that the elimination of party politics is a universally accepted sentiment. It is supported by all influential newspapers and strongly in favor with all classes of people. Its strength lies in the fact that it has become an attitude of mind, firmly fixed by *habit*. It certainly produces very beneficial results—a greater freedom and insistence upon the personal fitness of the candidate, a much reduced difficulty in finding really suitable candidates, and a sense that a candidate, once elected, is tied to no group of men, at least on party grounds. But the chief advantage is that it severs the municipal policy from all sorts of state and federal considerations. It thus enables a municipality to come before its legislature standing on the merits of its demands.

It is not to be gainsaid that several evils remain. Municipal politicians sometimes form groups among themselves, and sometimes municipalities are the victims of baneful influences and rapacious groups in the legislatures. But at least their difficulties are immensely simplified by the fact that the *party* question is *nil*. Internally, within municipalities, this freedom has made it easier to choose officials, and has everywhere made their standing a life tenure of their positions. It has also rendered it possible to have unanimity in councils over many measures and policies, based on untrammelled individual opinion of the aldermen, and it has enabled a municipality, when affected by pending legislation of the legislatures, to assemble to its aid the best men of all parties. The most striking and sweeping results have been rendered possible for the unions of municipalities in preventing legislative encroachments by corporations, and thefts of their rights and franchises by those charter sharks who infest all lobbies. The Union of Canadian Municipalities—the great general association of the cities and towns of Canada—has sometimes to fight the passing of some statute encroaching upon franchises or other rights of one of its numbers, or even of some municipality not in its membership, perhaps even some very weak and small municipality. In the federal parliament of Canada such bills are sometimes brought forward. But on every occasion where a fair case exists, the union counts on untrammelled combination of all the best elements of both parties, and invariably obtains a victory, in which the name of either party is scarcely so much as mentioned. The same process goes on before the provincial legislatures (corresponding to those of your states), before which the

provincial branches of the union take up similar matters, and whatever difficulties they may have with commercial groups or charter-sharks, there is almost invariably the same absence of the suggestion of party. It is unnecessary to catalogue all the other beneficial results.

Now, from the modest acquaintance I have with American municipal affairs, based mainly on a long association with the National Municipal League and other American municipal bodies, and also partly on a constant reading of the newspapers, I know that many of your municipal experts sometimes envy us this advantage, and wonder how it can be introduced in the United States, and added to your long list of important municipal triumphs.

Let me make only two remarks on that question,—*First*, that, whatever be the method, the *object* should be *to attain a habit of public mind* against the continuance of the party system. In Canada it rests upon a habit of public mind acquired during the past half century, and favored no doubt by the fact that our party methods have never attained such completeness of system as your own. They have never come down to such refinements as your party tickets. The *second point* is that, whether the process be long or short, simple or difficult,—and there is no doubt it will be difficult,—I have absolute confidence in the American people, in their ability to achieve any idea. The elimination of party politics will come to you as it has to us, sometime,—and within a reasonable time. The struggle for it is not a hopeless one, and ought to be pursued systematically with optimism, and having as its set purpose the *gradual creation of the necessary habit of public thought*.

As the representative here of the Union of Canadian Municipalities, I bring you the profound congratulations and the absolute sympathy of the Canadian people in all your splendid work.

SETH LOW'S SERVICE IN BEHALF OF NON-PARTISAN CITY GOVERNMENT

BY J. HAMPDEN DOUGHERTY¹

New York City

THE death of Seth Low brings vividly to mind a picture of progress in city government during 35 years. His success as mayor of Brooklyn in enforcing business principles in office gave his native city a distinction that was nation-wide. He himself seemed to personify the leading doctrines of municipal reform, many of which he put into practice before there was any statutory mandate to do so. To-day, independent voting is common; even the lines of cleavage between national parties have, except as to the tariff, almost disappeared. Since New York state by constitutional amendment provided for the election of city officers in different years from those set apart for state and national elections, voting in municipal elections takes place without thought of its effect upon national or state issues. Before Seth Low first ran for mayor in Brooklyn, fealty to national parties was so absolute as to make it almost party treason to vote for other than party candidates for municipal office. It requires an effort of memory of the older voter to recall, and vigor of imagination on the part of the younger to appreciate, the despotic hold of party regularity upon the voter of that time. Independent voting has traveled a vast distance within a generation.

Prior to the first Low campaign the subject of municipal government had received scant attention. The overshadowing issues of the civil war and of reconstruction and the necessity for placing the currency upon a sound basis and for the re-establishment of the gold standard, dwarfed all other political considerations. Meanwhile, scandals in city government became shamefully common with the increase in number and population of cities and the unlimited opportunities afforded to selfishness and greed to prey upon the body politic. Accumulation of city debts began to threaten city bankruptcy and taxation weighed oppressively upon city inhabitants. City problems were discussed in the New York constitutional convention of 1867, but without practical result. A commission appointed in 1877 by Governor Tilden made a report upon the misgovernment of cities, and the remedies therefor. Misrule in cities, it said,

¹A contemporary of Low and like him a former resident of Brooklyn; independent Democrat; active for many years in affirmative movements for political reform. Served for a time (under Mayor Low) as head of the department of water supply, gas and electricity of New York city; member of New York city charter revision committee appointed by Governor Hughes.

was due to the incompetence of governing boards and officers, the introduction of state and national politics into municipal affairs and the assumption by the legislature of direct control of city matters. The chief remedies proposed were separation of local and national elections and restriction of the power of the legislature to interfere by special legislation with the conduct of municipal affairs.

In 1880 Brooklyn was a hot-bed of political independence. The Garfield election was perhaps won in Brooklyn. Garfield carried New York state by a plurality over Hancock of 21,000, 2 per cent of the state's total vote, and this success is to be ascribed in no small degree to the labor of the newly organized Young Republican club of Brooklyn, of which Seth Low was president. In the local gossip of the day the club elected Garfield. In the following year it decided to turn its attention to city affairs with the hope not only of rescuing Brooklyn from control by a corrupt ring, but of setting up and establishing the principle that cities must be run upon a non-partisan basis. No officeholder could be a member of the club, and any member who accepted a nomination for any office thereby lost his membership; hence it could not be made to subserve the ambition of men seeking political place. The club was thoroughly organized in every ward of the city and had behind it a vote of sufficient numerical strength to make it a deciding factor in the election.

Mr. Low's death makes it fitting that the leading incidents of this dramatic campaign should be told. He had previously been asked to become the candidate of the Republican party for mayor, but unequivocally refused, and definitely to put an end to all talk of his candidacy, renewed his membership in the Young Republican club, which he had dropped after Garfield's election, thus virtually making it impossible for him to accept any nomination. On October 17, 1881, at the call of a few prominent citizens irrespective of party, a vast assemblage met in the Brooklyn rink and after listening to a series of resolutions favoring non-partisan city government and to stirring addresses by Henry Ward Beecher and others, nominated for mayor Ripley Ropes, a well-known citizen who had rendered splendid service in local office a few years earlier. On October 19 the club adopted resolutions approving the Ropes nomination and recommending to the Republican city convention the favorable consideration of his name for mayor. The chief spokesman for these resolutions was Seth Low. They were enthusiastically carried and the president of the club, Horace E. Deming, appointed Low one of a committee to present them to the Republican city convention. The McLaughlin ring defiantly answered the citizens' challenge by re-nominating James Howell, the existing mayor, and the independent Democrats nominated General Henry W. Slocum.

When, on October 21, the Republican city convention assembled to nominate candidates, Mr. Low's committee appeared and presented the

resolutions of the Young Republican club. Perhaps the tensest moments in the proceedings were those in which one of the ablest and most adroit of the Republican leaders asked Mr. Low whether if Ropes were nominated by the Republican convention and elected mayor he would "accept the nomination as a Republican, with all the political obligations which that implies," and in which Mr. Low replied that he would answer in the words of Mr. Ropes himself: "I will use that high office in the fear of God, for the interests of all citizens, high and low, rich and poor, friend and foe." The cleverness, the composure, the *sang-froid* shown by young Low, a political neophyte, in discussion with veteran politicians, and his simple but earnest words will not easily be forgotten—at least by the author of this sketch. The convention might perhaps have been stampered for him, had he betrayed even momentary hesitation. It finally nominated Benjamin F. Tracy, a lawyer of distinction, breveted a brigadier-general for notable service in the civil war. With the presence of Ropes and Tracy in the field there was imminent danger that the great powers of appointment given to the incoming mayor under the Schröder act of 1880 would become the prize of the ring which, as the *Eagle* well said, had "in times past plundered Brooklyn's treasury, corrupted her judiciary, fomented ruffianism and made elections mere farces." To avoid such a disaster Mr. Ropes retired from the canvass and at a meeting representative of both political parties Mr. Low was substituted as the citizens' candidate. General Tracy simultaneously resigned the Republican nomination, and in doing so commended Low to the consideration of the Republican convention. The convention accepted Tracy's resignation and named Low. The Young Republican club released him from his duties and obligations as a member and requested him to "accept the nominations tendered in this unprecedented manner."

In accepting the nomination of the citizens' committee, Mr. Low said:

No man could wish to stand as mayor on a nobler platform than that embodied in the preamble to the resolutions adopted at the citizens' meeting on Wednesday evening. If elected I pledge myself to discharge the duties of my high office "in the fear of God and not of man, and with an eye single to the best interests alike of the poor and the rich, the high and the low, friends and foes," and to administer the affairs of the city upon strict business principles.

Slocum also decided to withdraw and the contest was narrowed to a fight between Howell and Low. In the spirited canvass which ensued, Howell was defeated by 4,192 votes. By this close margin Brooklyn set up non-partisan city government. Of this election the Brooklyn *Eagle* said: "If Mr. Low will give the city two years of business-like administration, his successor, whoever he may be, will not be able to reverse that policy without the odium of being a public enemy."

In office Mr. Low applied the principles embodied in the citizens' platform. The Schröder act gave him power to appoint his leading subordinates, not, however, the power of removal, but Mr. Low exacted from each of his appointees a resignation ready for instant use at any time; and while the civil service law was still a permissive measure as to cities, he accepted and applied its provisions as thoroughly as though they were mandatory. He kept a vigilant supervision over proposed legislation at Albany inimical to the city's welfare, and at the same time succeeded in winning from political enemies the support necessary to insure the passage of the measures which he fostered—such, for example, as the Evarts act of 1883, which enabled the city to collect several millions of dollars of arrears of taxes. His appointments were of a high order; he reformed the public educational system, putting it in charge of a board of education of the highest efficiency, and instituted a system for granting municipal franchises under which they were adequately paid for. In a short time the metamorphosis in city government was surprising. Brooklyn became a city like a light set upon a hill, known and honored all over the land.

In the fall of 1883 Mr. Low was re-elected mayor after a vigorous campaign in his behalf the brunt of which fell upon the Young Republicans and thus Brooklyn secured two years more of efficient government.

When consolidation between New York city and Brooklyn was voted, Mr. Low was designated by Governor Morton as one of the commissioners to frame a charter for the greater city. His influence in its formation, while not dominating, was strongly felt. He was the citizens' candidate for the mayoralty of the greater city at the first election under the new charter, and his nomination was a remarkable tribute to the man. In the triangular contest between him, Tracy, the Republican candidate, and Robert Van Wyck, the Tammany candidate, Tammany was successful but the vote for Mr. Low greatly exceeded the vote for Tracy. Their united vote, had it been cast for Low, would have made him mayor. Then followed four years of Tammany misrule, which aroused such a revulsion of feeling that citizens irrespective of party combined to nominate and elect Mr. Low. Unhappily, the revised charter of 1900 had reduced the mayor's term to two years.

It is difficult in a few words to sum up the accomplishments of that all too brief period of business government. There had previously been conferred upon the mayor ample power to remove his appointees, the extension of the civil service law had relieved him from many of the importunities from politicians which he could not altogether escape while mayor of Brooklyn, and the new constitution spared him those visits to Albany to head off possible adverse legislation which he graphically described in the chapter on city government, written by him for Bryce's "American Commonwealth"—because all bills affecting the city before

they could be passed upon by the governor had automatically to be submitted to the mayor for approval or non-approval. Vast projects were conceived, begun and partially executed during his term, in relation to rapid transit, the city's water supply, its docks and bridges, and the entrance by tunnel of the Pennsylvania railroad into the heart of the city itself. Jurisdiction over franchises was taken from the board of aldermen and vested in the board of estimate, in which the mayor, the comptroller and the president of the board of aldermen exercise a virtually controlling vote. The history of the greater city under Mr. Low was that of a giant corporate business, managed with unusual skill, and as the mayor had full accountability for the choice and retention of department chiefs and was chairman of, and an influential factor in, the board of estimate, the success of the administration was primarily due to him. With all proper abatements, government under Low attained an eminence entitling it to be regarded as the high-water period in the city's affairs. A brief retrograde movement followed, but after the success scored under Low, Tammany could never again descend to the infamy of the Van Wyck administration. Reform begets improvement, even if the movement is not continuously progressive, for former odious conditions will never again be tolerated and cannot be fully restored. If the Low administration be judged in the light not only of what it actually achieved but of evils the recurrence of which it has rendered impossible, its accomplishments are notable indeed.

In almost any other country Seth Low's official service would have covered a long period of consecutive years. In Germany or England, for example, his continued re-election to the mayoralty of a city like Brooklyn would have been a certainty and promotion to the mayoralty of a greater city would have inevitably followed upon its formation. Had his preference been for other political place, the chance of preferment would have been at his call. It is only we in the United States who seem incapable of duly assessing the service rendered by able and disinterested citizenship. The loss thus sustained by the community defies calculation.

For a number of years Mr. Low was president of Columbia University and while in that office, after having refused President McKinley's tender of the post of minister to Spain, he accepted an appointment at the hands of the same president as delegate to the first international conference for the promotion of peace, which convened at The Hague in the spring of 1899, his fellow delegates being the Honorable Andrew D. White, then minister to Germany, the Honorable Stanford Newel, minister at The Hague, Captain Mahan, Captain Crozier and Frederick W. Holls.

For many years he was deeply interested in the cause of labor, was often the arbiter chosen by the labor interests, and in the last nine years

of his life acted as president of the National Civic Federation. A quiet, unobtrusive but effective worker in the great domains of charity and education, the range of his activities far surpasses public knowledge. His final public service was as chairman of the cities committee of the constitutional convention of 1915, to which he was elected a delegate at large with a vote exceeding that given to any other delegate. His appointment to the chairmanship of the cities committee was a proper acknowledgment of his exceptional fitness for the office. The words with which he opened his presentation of the committee's report to the convention are a bitter commentary upon the difficulty that besets every effort of cities to attain home rule. He wondered, he said, if any of his hearers realized that in 45 years we had made no substantial progress in relieving the legislature of the necessity of dealing with local matters or in granting to cities more control of their local affairs. According to the Evarts commission of 1877, 808 acts were passed by the legislature of 1870; 212 related to cities and villages, 94 to cities, 36 to New York city alone. In 1915 the legislature passed 729 bills, 222 relating to cities and villages, 182 to cities and 76 to New York city alone. While the measure of home rule reported by his committee failed to satisfy many home-rule advocates, Mr. Low doubtless felt it was all that public opinion would support and he worked earnestly but vainly for its success.

Professor Sloane has alluded to Mr. Low's remarkable memory that enabled him to pronounce in extempore fashion a speech requiring an hour or more for its delivery. This may help to explain the uniformly superior character of his public utterances. In the second campaign in Brooklyn, his appeals for the continuance of business government, backed up and re-enforced, as they were, by facts and figures, were of a high order and carried conviction into the hearts of his auditors by their obvious sincerity. He was an equally good campaigner in 1901 and 1903. He was, perhaps, the most felicitous speaker who ever occupied the chair of mayor of the greater city. His address in 1902, upon the presentation to Prince Henry of Prussia of the freedom of New York city, evoked spontaneous praise from the press of that day. Mr. Low was quick to perceive the essential point of an argument or a bill, and much of the business sagacity that made his father one of New York's merchant princes was in the son employed to safeguard the city's interests in complex business contracts. In one of his earliest campaign speeches he quoted with approval the maximum of the old Latin poet—"in the middle of the road you will go safest," and added, "I have not been a man of extremes and do not expect to be." Temperamentally he was predisposed towards compromise, and what at times seemed like the lack of high civic courage may have been wise caution. It is a misfortune that with his great and exceptional experience in city affairs he never published any monograph upon city government except the brief chapter

contributed by him to the first edition of Bryce's "American Commonwealth." It may be that had he lived he would have produced a comprehensive and illuminating treatise showing how and to what extent cities may properly be emancipated from state control. Such a work would have been a splendid capstone to his life.

Varied and interesting as were his occupations the chief, of which he laid the foundations in early manhood, was city reform. In the history of city government he will be remembered as the great pioneer—the man who first demonstrated in a practical way the immense gain to the people of a city of having its affairs conducted upon a strictly non-partisan basis.

NON-PARTISANSHIP IN MUNICIPAL AFFAIRS AS ILLUSTRATED BY NEW YORK EXPERIENCE

BY JOHN J. MURPHY

New York City

N EARLY a quarter of a century since, a group of high-minded citizens of New York evolved a theory of municipal government based upon a perfectly logical principle. Had they been less high-minded they might have been suspicious of the very fact that it *was* perfectly logical. No perfectly logical principle functions efficiently when applied to human affairs. Were it otherwise John Jay Chapman would be the greatest politician in the United States for no one has more relentlessly applied logic to the solution of governmental problems. Instead of holding such a position, he is merely the high exemplar of a small group of men who admire above everything else, nobility of character and consistency of purpose.

The theory was that, although men might differ on political questions, all decent citizens were a unit in favor of good government and honest administration. Under the leadership of the late Seth Low, of venerable memory, this idea won its greatest public favor in 1897. Although he was defeated for the mayoralty, he polled 150,000 votes for the idea. True, he was elected in 1901, but the fundamental idea of 1897 was sacrificed to achieve the victory, for of the allies who came together to overthrow Tammany in that year, not 20 per cent even pretended to any faith in the non-partisan idea. Eighty per cent of the participants were simply a coalition of revolting Democrats and of Republicans who saw no other way of inflicting a defeat on their party rival. Their ideals of government were little, if anything, higher than Tammany's; they were the strictest kind of party men.

At what point did the logical principle break down in application? Simply in its failure to properly take into account the basis of parties and partisanship. The assumption that parties exist to advance the ideas with which they are identified in the public mind, is almost wholly erroneous. Parties take up ideas to keep themselves alive. The Republican party is sometimes supposed to exist for the perpetuation of the principle (save the mark) of protection. As a matter of fact the Republican party takes up protection as one means of keeping itself going. So the Democratic party at one time seemed to exist to advocate the remonetization of silver. But the relegation of that idea to oblivion did not cause the party to disintegrate.

Parties take up issues as a merchant replenishes his stock; when the public demands something new, the merchant brings out the new fashions. The primary purpose of the party and the merchant is the same, to make a living. Parties have an existence entirely independent of the principles they advocate or profess.

The basis of their life is the association of like-minded men, men who can combine for effective action, men whose attraction for one another is on the whole greater than their repugnance to each other. If this thought be kept in mind, the brief existence of new parties will be understood. New parties spring up to advocate ideas, which for the time being are strong enough to tear men away from old associations. These ideas are either rejected, enacted into law or stolen by one or other of the regular organizations. Then the components of the new party seek their old alignments.

When, therefore, non-partisanship in municipal affairs was tried, under leaders as unselfish as any who have ever led such a movement, men found themselves thrown into association with other men with whom they were not congenial. The Republican mind and the Democratic mind, when thrown into juxtaposition, even for so unimpeachable a cause as good government, generate antagonisms. Hence the constant tendency was to fly apart. What we have seen in most non-partisan movements (so-called) is really a coalition of minority groups to defeat an opponent stronger than any one of them, but unable to defeat them all combined. Were any of these groups in the majority it would not consider non-partisanship as a principle of action for a moment. Fusion movements are often useful and practicable, but they should not be confounded with non-partisan movements. They are omni-partisan rather than non-partisan. All men who have any positive qualities are partisans.

After many years of belief in and struggle for, the realization of the non-partisan idea, I am forced to admit that it runs counter to a natural law which is stronger than logic. The old struggle of the realist and the idealist, the head and the heart, efficiency and humanity, the imperialist and the democrat, inevitably wrecks any attempt to combine these antagonistic elements into a permanent movement.

THE NON-PARTISAN BALLOT IN MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS

A CONSIDERATION OF ITS ADAPTABILITY TO CHICAGO¹

BY HON. MORTON DENISON HULL

Chicago

THE following is quoted from an editorial in the *Chicago Record-Herald*, of January 18, 1914:

What is the matter with Boston? Her own newspapers and citizens admit that something is wrong in the cultural hub. Not long ago Boston adopted a modern charter and scrapped her old municipal machinery. The Massachusetts non-partisan ballot is famous: many cities are crying for it.

Boston has just had a local election and the wrong candidate was chosen mayor. There was no partisan fight: the good citizens had every chance; but too many of them failed to vote. The great middle class was vainly appealed to.

The election to which the foregoing editorial quotation refers was the election for mayor of Boston held a few days prior. At that election a Mr. Curley was elected mayor. Mr. Curley had been the head of a so-called Tammany organization in Boston, modeled after that of New York. Some years ago he passed six months in jail, under a sentence imposed by a federal court for impersonating another man in taking a United States civil service examination. His opponent, Mr. Kenny, had worked himself up from the humbler ranks of life and had made an honorable record as a member of the common council of Boston. It is unnecessary to go into the records of these men further. It is sufficient to say that, according to the *Record-Herald*, it is generally admitted in Boston that "something is wrong in the cultural hub."

It is unnecessary to go into a prolonged diagnosis of the disease that afflicts the city of Boston. This isn't the first time it has been noticed in Boston and it isn't confined to Boston alone. It is the same old disease that has afflicted popular government in all our large cities for many years—the disease that in its outward form manifests itself as inefficient and

¹ This article was published in the spring of 1914 and circulated as a campaign document in a hotly contested aldermanic election in one of the wards of Chicago in which the attempt was made to make the non-partisanship of one of the candidates and the fact that his name appeared on the ballot by petition rather than as a party nominee the issue of the campaign. Both this candidate and his principal competitor, a Republican, were highly commended by the municipal voters league. The party candidate won by a decisive vote.

dishonest city government. We are appreciating its presence here in Chicago, and many sincere reformers are offering as a remedy the total abolition of the party circle, and non-partisan municipal elections. Will it help the situation? Does it offer any relief? A few years ago a group of public-spirited citizens of Boston thought it would help Boston. They saw, as our friends are seeing, the evil of having national political party prejudices intruding themselves into our local city elections. What place has the tariff or the currency question in our city elections? None, of course. The answer was clear. And so they thought if national parties were eliminated from city elections—indeed, if all parties were eliminated, and the party circle abolished and a candidate allowed to run only on his personal fitness, and under his own name, and not under the name of any party, all would go well—and Boston would be redeemed. And so they abolished the party ballot and have had two municipal elections on the non-partisan plan. And in both of these elections the unfit candidate for mayor has won. The first of these candidates was "Honey" Fitzgerald, elected four years ago over James J. Storrow, both Democrats in national politics. The second was Mr. Curley, just elected over Mr. Kenny, both being Democrats. These results have been a disappointment to the friends of the non-partisan municipal ballot, as indeed they should be to all friends of good government. Abstractly considered, it would seem as though the non-partisan ballot had every argument in its favor. But in two mayoralty elections in Boston, it has sadly failed of the expectations of its friends, and I think we may safely say, failed to give to Boston any better government, so far as the office of mayor is concerned, than the old party ballot. Why?

We will venture to suggest a few reasons. The first of these lies in the size of the electorate of Boston. Associated with this factor of the size of the electorate is the simple fact of human nature, which everyone must recognize, that the vast majority of men respond to motives of self interest far more quickly than to motives of the public good, or to any motive which is diffused and general and not of immediate personal application. The result is that the forces which have demoralized the popular government of our cities, and which after all are only the forces of self interest which hope to profit in various ways through political control, are mobilized far more quickly in political campaigns than the forces which stand for the public service. In smaller communities this handicap is not so serious to the forces of good government. Though the time between nominations and elections may not be long, there is frequently time enough to create an effective organization for the better candidates. Furthermore, the civic interest of the citizen is greater in the smaller community because he feels that his share in the result is larger. In the smaller community he is usually a property owner,

while too frequently in the city he lives in a flat and moves from year to year. As a result independent candidates may, and frequently do, make winning campaigns in our smaller municipalities. But in cities of the size of Boston, with an electorate of 125,000 voters, or of Chicago, with an electorate of several times that number, this public inertia is a real handicap, as the experience of Boston seems to prove.

How then can this difficulty of overcoming the public inertia be met? Obviously by not waiting till the last moment and until nominations have been made, in organizing your forces for battle. In practical experience this means by having your organization in existence long prior to nominations and elections. On account of the frequency of our elections this, in effect, means that the organization for mobilizing your electorate in political campaigns must be a permanent one. It must have ward leaders and precinct leaders. It must ramify to every part of the community, if it is to be an effective fighting force. But just as soon as you have created this kind of a machine, you have created a political party, and it makes no difference whether you call it Republican, Democratic, Socialist, citizens' union, or fusion, or non-partisan party. The forces of self interest which have corrupted our politics know this. They know the need of combination and organization in winning victories and they get together very quickly, wherever self interest dictates. Unless the good citizens will do likewise, they cannot expect to win.

Perhaps it will be said that it is not the existence of parties that constitutes the evil; but the intrusion of national party prejudices into local elections, and that what we ought to have is local municipal parties. Perhaps this is the answer. Perhaps we should have municipal parties in our municipal elections. But if this be so, we should be logical and should go through with our reform to the end. We should recognize that the citizen of Chicago is an elector in five distinct popular governments overlapping each other. He is a citizen and elector in the popular government of Chicago. He is a citizen and elector in the popular government of Cook county. He is a citizen and elector in the popular government of the sanitary district of Chicago. He is a citizen and elector in the popular government of the state of Illinois, and he is a citizen and elector in his national government. If the intrusion of national parties is an unmitigated evil in the business of the city of Chicago, it is equally so in the business of Cook county, in the business of the sanitary district, and in the business of the state of Illinois. What has the tariff or the currency question to do with any of them? If the non-partisan ballot will bring us a better city government, why should we not have it in Cook county elections, and indeed, in every one of these elective governments in which we are voters. If, however, it fails in big cities for the reasons we have suggested; and if, as a consequence, we must conclude that the difficulty of mobilizing your electorate without organization necessitates

parties, but that these parties should be separate and distinct from national parties, then with some force it may be said that they should be distinct from each other, in every one of these several popular governments in which we are voters; that city parties should be distinct from state parties, and county parties and sanitary district parties. If the intrusion of the political questions of one of these popular governments into the elections affecting the others is an evil to be met only by separate political organizations in each, then our good citizen must be burdened with a multiplicity of political organization which he simply will not and cannot carry. As a matter of experience he finds his friends and those who think with him, interested in practically the same party in all elections, and thinks that one political machine is enough for all. He may be wrong. Theoretically he is wrong. It may be he ought to maintain separate and distinct political parties for each of the several popular governments in which he votes. But what he ought to do and what he will do are two different things. In experience it is safe to say your good citizen will refuse to carry the burden of five distinct political parties in Chicago.

Perhaps some one will cite the experience of New York in electing John Purroy Mitchel, a Democrat, mayor over Judge McCall, Democrat and Tammany candidate, as an instance of a successful non-partisan campaign in a large city. In one sense it was. The voters of New York who are overwhelmingly Democratic in national politics, disregarded party designations in the result. It ought to be remembered, however, that it was not a non-partisan campaign in the sense of abolishing the party ballot or disregarding the use of party organization. Mr. Mitchel was elected by a fusion of existing party organizations. He was in fact nominated by the Republicans, the Progressives and the citizens' union party of New York, and his name and the names of the other fusion candidates appeared in the separate columns of each one of these parties on the ballot, and their party organizations were used to the limit in bringing the voters to the polls. Even at that he could not have been elected, except for the political folly of the Tammany organization and its leaders in impeaching Governor Sulzer. This instance forms no precedent for the non-partisan elections which disregard the need of organization to achieve results.

I have tried to suggest that the problem of mobilizing the electorate for something more than the experience of good purposes and defeated efforts, means organization and organization means parties. I have tried to suggest, too, that if national parties are a bane in other than national elections, the difficulty is more or less inherent in the situation. One thing, however, is obvious. We have complicated the situation by too many elective governments. We ought to abolish the sanitary district altogether, and absorb its powers and obligations in the city and state

governments. We may well question, too, whether at the proper time the city of Chicago, and county of Cook ought not to be consolidated into one local government. This would help to simplify the situation. There would then be left three popular governments in which our good citizen would be a voter. Would he then be willing to maintain three separate and distinct political organizations. I doubt it. The line of least resistance is the usual line of human action. The line of least resistance would still be the line of single, rather than multiple political organization.

If this be true, is there no road to better government? We know no special way but better citizenship. After all, the word "non-partisanship" expresses in negative form what should be a positive virtue—patriotic service—whether in citizen or public servant. This service cannot get far by going it alone. In my humble judgment, too, it handicaps itself in multiplying organization. If the good citizens instead of being periodic patriots and denouncing the bosses, will, in sufficient number take the organizations that exist and stick by the job, they can mould them to proper use in every one of the elective governments in which we live. This does not mean a blind following of organization. Every man reserves to himself the right to revolt when his party goes wrong. Indeed, revolt then becomes a public duty. It does mean that good government cannot be secured by simply wishing for it, but can be secured only by working for it. Working for it means permanent party organization where the number of the electorate is large.

THE BOSTON CHARTER

BY ROBERT J. BOTTOMLY,

Boston, Mass.

THE present Boston city charter was passed by the legislature in 1909. Its political features were accepted by the people at the state election in the same year and it went into effect as a whole on February 1, 1910. It was adopted in practically the same form in which it was recommended by the original finance commission, composed of five Boston citizens who had studied the Boston municipal situation for the preceding eighteen months.

The Boston charter is an extreme form of centralization of executive and administrative authority in the hands of a mayor elected for four years. The council is composed of nine members elected at large, three each year for a term of three years, and their authority is practically confined to the passage of appropriations, loans and ordinances. The mayor has an absolute veto of all orders of the council. The charter created a permanent finance commission of five members appointed by the governor. It is the eyes and ears of the citizens to inform them as to what is going on in the various departments of their city government.

The state civil service commission is required to pass upon all appointments by the mayor to positions of heads of departments. All party designations were abolished from the municipal ballot and the nominations for both mayor and city council were to be made by petition signed by 5,000 registered voters of the city. This requirement was reduced by the legislature of 1914 to 3,000 signatures for mayor and 2,000 signatures for the council. By the act of 1909 the date of the city election was changed from December to January, but it was changed back again to December in 1914.

It can be said without hesitation that this charter constitutes an enormous improvement over the antiquated form of city government under which Boston was previously operating. While, of course, improvements are bound to come in the future, no practical suggestions have yet been made which the people of Boston would care to substitute for it at the present time.

The small council of nine members elected at large, without party designations, which was one of the features which the practical politicians said would have no chance of success, has proved to be one of the most satisfactory provisions of the charter. The political features of the charter were adopted on a referendum in alternative form in 1909 by a majority of about 4,000, the vote being approximately 39,000 to 35,000.

Every year from 1910 to 1914 the small council was attacked in the legislature by the old ward bosses, and finally in 1914 they secured the passage of an act which referred to the people the question of substituting a larger council elected by districts for the small council elected at large. The best proof that the small council had made good with Boston is that the act providing for a council by districts was rejected by a majority of 21,000, the vote being approximately 26,000 Yes to 47,000 No.

In calibre the membership of the council has been steadily increasing. Under the old system with 75 members in the common council and 13 in the board of aldermen, the council was always dominated by those who made politics their business, or their hangers-on. The new council has always been dominated by men who were personally honest and who, in different degrees, looked upon membership in the city council as an opportunity for public service. There has never been a council under the new charter, a majority of the membership of which was not recommended by the good government association at the time of their election. The association has been able to insist upon a constantly rising standard of qualifications in candidates in order to secure its recommendation. In the old days, if no charges were preferred against a candidate and if, in addition, he happened to be a good husband and father, many people at once assumed that he was thoroughly qualified to decide how the people's money should be spent. Now it has come to be assumed, both by the committees of the association and by the people of Boston generally, that personal honesty is a *sine qua non* for membership and that the real question is to decide which candidates have shown the more ability and experience to entitle them to a place on this small board, which has charge of spending so many millions of the people's money every year. The small council elected at large has undoubtedly proven to be a success.

The permanent finance commission, a body of five citizens of Boston appointed by the governor, the members of which, with the exception of the chairman, serve without pay, has performed a very useful function. Each year it issues a considerable body of reports upon different departments and activities of the city government. Their criticisms have resulted in a great number of improvements, as well as serving to focus public opinion upon other evils which need to be improved. In the last two or three years, however, its work has been hampered by the fact that at least one of its membership was heartily out of sympathy with its purpose. While this member resigned something over two years ago and a great improvement in the work of the commission would have resulted if his resignation had been promptly accepted, no action upon his resignation has been taken, either by the well-intentioned procrastination of our present governor, or "the mild and amiable inefficiency" of his predecessor.

The mayor must send to the state civil service commission all appointments to positions of heads of departments and unless the commission

certifies within thirty days that the appointee is a recognized expert or qualified by education, training or experience for the position to which he is appointed, the appointment becomes void. This provision was framed for the purpose of freeing either a good or a bad mayor from those political influences which tend to drag his appointments below the level of efficiency, while leaving him entire freedom above that level. In the administration of the first mayor elected under the new charter 25 appointments were not approved by the civil service commission. The finance commission stated that 23 of these 25 rejected appointments were made for political reasons. This action served to focus, not only in the minds of the office seekers, but also in the minds of the community, that some other qualification than political activity was necessary in order to secure a position as a head of a department. Under the second and present mayor no appointments have been rejected by the civil service commission¹ although some two or three have been withdrawn. In the opinion of most observers this failure to reject certain appointments has not been due so much to the exceptional qualifications of the appointees as to the lowering of the calibre of the civil service commission. It is to be hoped and expected that the present governor will sooner or later grapple with the problem of restoring a reasonable amount of ability and courage to the membership of the commission. In spite of the present situation, however, this provision has served to foster in the minds of the people of Boston a more definite idea of the standard of public service required for the administration of the head of an important department. It has had an important effect upon public opinion in the city and has thus proven of real value.

With regard to the powers of the finance and civil service commissions, the average charter student at once says that they violate the principle of home rule and therefore in the long run must prove unwise. If he means that he believes that municipal Boston should be governed solely by the people who reside within its municipal limits, it is quite true that the principle of home rule is violated. Metropolitan commissions appointed by the governor have charge of water, sewers and parks for the entire community. The police of Boston have been run by a commissioner appointed by the governor since 1885 and with very satisfactory results. The attempt to establish a minimum level of efficiency for the heads of the important Boston departments and the preparation and publication of information as to how Boston's city government is conducted, are both functions in which many people who do not reside in Boston have a vital interest and in which they may be allowed and expected to co-operate through the governor whom they help to choose.

¹ Since this article was written, one appointment of the present mayor has been rejected by the civil service commission.

Boston is peculiar among American cities in that its immediate suburbs are vastly more populous than the municipality itself. Very likely not more than one in three of the people whom you meet in different parts of the country, who call themselves Bostonians and who have their offices in Boston, have any direct share in Boston's government. Newton, Brookline, Cambridge, Somerville, in all some 32 towns and cities immediately contiguous to municipal Boston, all of which constitute part of the great urban community at the head of Massachusetts bay, have clung so firmly to the traditions which have clustered about their local names in past generations that they have been unwilling to become part of a greater city. The vast majority of their citizens, however, have their offices in the city and they use the city for many of the important functions of municipal life. The offices, the stores, the warehouses, the docks, the hotels and the theaters which are used by the entire community, are all within the limits of municipal Boston and it is a matter of vital importance to the nine hundred odd thousand people in the immediate suburbs that the 750,000 people within the municipal limits should not be allowed to fall into a condition of misgovernment, which would set back the welfare of the entire community. Until a greater city can be brought about, it is perhaps necessary in Boston that the suburbanites should be allowed, through the state government, to take some part in Boston's municipal government.

The fact that the great majority of the moderately prosperous middle class do not vote in municipal Boston has constituted one of the serious troubles in the two non-partisan mayoralty elections which have been held under the present charter. In both mayoralty elections the candidate of the so-called "gang" element in Boston politics has been successful, although the fight has been infinitely closer than it could possibly have been if national party designations had been retained.

The first reason for that result has already been noted and the second reason, and the vital one from the point of the actual city, is that the people of Boston have not yet developed a proper standard or conception of the type of man that they wish for mayor. Every important municipal election in Boston turns on the fact that the gang element in politics has so far been able to secure the practically solid support of the city employes. When it is remembered that the municipal government is obliged to perform a great deal of service for a vast number of people who have no voting share in its makeup, it will be realized that the city employes in Boston constitute a disproportionately large share of the voting population. This year there are approximately 117,000 people on the voting list. Last April there were 14,943 people on the city payroll. It will thus be seen that the city employes, with their relatives and friends, constitute a solid block which is practically large enough to swing the mayoralty election. The city employes of course desire that their wages and work-

ing conditions should be improved as rapidly as possible. It is sad but true that many of them believe that this improvement can only be obtained as a reward for political activity rather than as result of well-rendered service to the city.

It is the constant effort of the good government association to make the city employes realize that better conditions and better wages may be hoped for in the long run by the elimination of the enormous extravagance and waste which the administrative inefficiency of the present type of chief executive brings about, rather than by pandering to gang leaders in return for the crumbs which they may let fall from their table. As this change comes in Boston, we will have constant improvement in our municipal government, whatever form of charter may be in existence at any given moment.

THE NON-PARTISAN BALLOT IN PITTSBURGH

BY A. LEO WEIL

Pittsburgh, Pa.

LAST evening Professor Beard and Commissioner Murphy, respectively, gave us the Genesis of political parties and the Exodus of the citizens' union of New York. Professor Beard, from his study of the motives which underlie the creation of political parties, concluded that non-partisan ballots at municipal elections would not be practical, while Commissioner Murphy, from his experience with the citizens' union of New York, came to the same conclusion.

It seems hardly fair from a single organization in the city of New York, where in reality there was no trial of a non-partisan ballot, to draw such a sweeping conclusion. If I understand the situation in New York aright, the people, aroused over conditions theretofore existing, formed the citizens' union for the purpose of taking part in the elections, and were successful in the first election and unsuccessful in the next. They then abandoned the union. Is that an experiment in the operation of a non-partisan ballot? As well say that the day-after feeling of the members of our owl club was an experiment in prohibition.

As to Professor Beard's position, all of us have some knowledge of the rank and file who follow the national political parties. Without questioning the accuracy of the underlying causes given by Professor Beard for the original creation of political parties—there are few who have had experience with the followers of the national political parties to-day, who believe that any appreciable number of such followers are consciously moved by the reasons for originally creating such parties. They follow the party because of environment, of tradition, of habit, or for selfish reasons, political, financial, or social.

I think this may be illustrated by the story, which it is said Ex-President Roosevelt told of himself. He says when he was conducting his campaign for president on the Bull Moose ticket, he was delivering a speech in a Western town when some one in a front seat interrupted him from time to time, and so annoyed him that he finally said to his interlocutor: "You must be a Democrat." "Yes, I am," said the man. "Well," said Mr. Roosevelt, "why are you a Democrat?" The man replied: "My father was a Democrat, my grandfather was a Democrat, my great-grandfather was a Democrat, and I guess that is why I am a Democrat." "Suppose," said Mr. Roosevelt, "your father was a donkey, and your grandfather was a donkey, and your great-grandfather was a donkey, what would you be?" "Oh," replied the man, "I don't know; I guess I would be a Bull-Mooser."

Now, I think you will agree with me that a great many of the followers of our national political parties are followers of such parties simply because their ancestors were followers of such party, but few indeed are moved by the motives which have been ascribed by Professor Beard to the original creation of such parties.

However, opposed to the argument of Professor Beard and of Commissioner Murphy, we have the experience of Canadian cities, of the German cities, and in this country of a number of cities,—with one of which I am somewhat familiar—the city of Pittsburgh. We have a non-partisan ballot in that city, about which I have been asked to tell you, and the only reason I can conceive why the program committee has placed me on this program.

When Lincoln Steffens wrote his "Shame of the Cities" and described the government of the various municipalities of this union, he said Pittsburgh was not controlled by the bosses, but the boss was the city, and that was a correct statement of the situation at that time. Absolutely uncontrolled, they did what they liked. That was but a few years ago. What is the condition to-day? We have an administration elected upon a non-partisan ballot—a non-partisan ballot framed under an act, in which the election of municipal officers cannot take place even the same year with the election of either state or national officials. It must be a separate and distinct election, the ballots having no party designation. It has been on trial a few years. The result has been that the candidates for the respective offices are not such because they are Republicans or Democrats. The greatest contests so far have been between those of the same political faith, even between candidates who had been prominent in the same party for many years. Each was supported by his particular friends, or by factions or by organizations of various character, but none of them by the national political party. The administration of the city of Pittsburgh, for several years, ever since that system was adopted,—notwithstanding its former reputation as boss-ridden; notwithstanding the one-time existence of almost indescribable conditions as shown by the graft disclosures that shocked the country a few years ago,—as I say, since the introduction of this system now after several years' trial, there is not even a suspicion on the part of the people of Pittsburgh that we have not an honest administration.

The men who have been elected for the respective positions are, as a rule, far superior in every way to those who prior to that time occupied those same offices. This is particularly true of the city council composed of nine men.

We believe that this has been accomplished in large measure and continued in large part through the non-partisan ballot. We have found in the actual operation of the city of Pittsburgh—and the same is true of other cities in the state of Pennsylvania, so far as my observation goes—

that the non-partisan ballot has worked out in actual experience exactly as we had expected, with but one exception, and that is, that those elected to office after they have obtained their office, are still disposed to play politics. In other words, in many cases they seek other political offices. They are personally honest in their action, being free from graft, but some are actuated by the desire for political preferment, and they do play politics in office. I believe those who live in the city of Pittsburgh will agree with me that with that exception our council has exercised its best judgment upon all public matters, and that we have an exceptionally good council.

That we have not a perfect government; that our city is far from the ideal in its administration, we of course admit. I think that a large part of our criticism of municipal officials arises from the fact that we fail to recognize the change that has taken place in municipal government. We do not appreciate what is required of the city administration of to-day, to wit: a foresight, a wisdom, a preparation, equal—if I may use an exaggerated comparison—to that possessed by the officers of the National Municipal League; and I venture to suggest, that if the councilmen of Pittsburgh, or of any other city, were selected by the National Municipal League from its own officers and ablest members, there would be a great difference of opinion on the part of the people of that city as to the wisdom of much of their action in office. We have to contend to-day in our municipalities with problems that at one time were not considered in connection with a city administration.

I have in my hand, one of the responses that was required yesterday at the meeting of the civic secretaries, in which one civic secretary was asked to tell "What is the relative importance of such movements as charter reform, recreation facilities, single tax reform, housing betterments, city planning, prevention of unemployment, social insurance, and municipal and governmental insurance." Those are only a small number of the questions that must arise in and be determined by every city administration of the present time.

There was a period in the history of our municipal governments, many years ago, when, representing as they did only the sovereignty of the state, and exercising by proxy, as it were, only state powers, such as preserving order, etc., our city administration did not require a high order of ability on the part of city officials. Their activities were few and their duties were easy of performance. To-day, however, the administration of the modern city involves the exercise of functions once undreamed of. They have come to represent the progressive social obligations of modern society. The city administration of our period involves the consideration of transportation, lighting, heating, the supply of water, and all of the public utilities. To this must be added the preservation of the health, with its municipal hospitals, and all the machinery of modern

times for the prevention of disease. Another department, becoming more and more important, is the protection and up-building of the morals of the people, young and old, regulating to this end the playhouses and plays, the social evil, the liquor traffic, etc. Then, too, a city administration, alive to its obligations, looks to the amusement of its people, and provides parks, playgrounds for young and old, bathing facilities, and the like.

Also equally as important, as bearing upon the health, morals and amusement, is the unemployment and housing problems, with all the tremendous possibilities therein implied.

This is not intended to be an inventory, but only a suggestion of some of the activities of the cities of to-day.

Compare, therefore, the necessary qualifications of a mayor or a councilman of a city of 50 to 100 years ago, with those required of like officers now, and we will at once appreciate that the type then sufficient is now wholly insufficient.

While we are improving our city administration, let us bear in mind that those who are placed in office have before them a work that is stupendous—work that calls for the greatest effort of the greatest minds. Do not let us get too impatient with the progress we are making. Even the most confirmed pessimist, so confirmed in fact that he Fletcherizes his quinine pills, if he will look backward instead of forward, if he will compare conditions to-day with what they were years ago, and then look forward and conjure up a like degree of progress in the years to come, ought to become an optimist. I have confidence that the future of our municipalities will redound to the credit of our American institutions. I want to register my protest here and now against any movement which in my judgment will take away from us the one best leverage to this consumption, namely: the non-partisan ballot in municipal elections.

DISCUSSION

BY ROBERT S. BINKERD

New York City

MY FRIENDSHIP for Professor Beard is such that I do not have to appear unduly respectful; and so I warn you against him. He is the *enfant terrible* of American political history and theory. I not only allege this, but can prove it; for did not he admit, only a few minutes ago, that Aristotle had written a better book on politics than he had!

The cause of my irritation is that Professor Beard is too satisfied; that he overrates certain elements, and underrates others, and thereby reaches a substantially false conclusion.

So I think it would be helpful if we were to realize the fundamental nature of the municipal struggle in which we have been engaged for the last thirty or forty years. It has been a fight for the liberation of the mind of the American voter. You ask, liberation from what? I reply, liberation from slavish, cattle-like following of partisan leadership, which enabled our national political parties to make our cities, with their contracts, and their treasuries, and their administrative machinery, the great feeding troughs of their organized political appetite. Just so far as we have been able, in any city, to increase the proportion of the independent electorate, just so far have we been able to better conditions and to redeem our parties by compelling them to compete in some degree of public service.

I have no quarrel with Professor Beard's statement that economic and social causes have much to do with the lines of national party cleavage. In all human affairs, sub-conscious inclination or prejudice are much more important factors than are generally realized. Mankind arrives at various decisions and then seeks to justify them by catchwords and argument.

But while I thank Professor Beard for continuing to insist upon this too little appreciated truth, I can see no reason why we should be satisfied with artificial electoral conditions, which give to these inclinations and prejudices a greater force than they intrinsically possess. I am convinced that the election of city officials upon national party tickets does just exactly this thing. It follows, that to provide a proper non-partisan municipal election system will reduce the lines of national party affiliation to their irreducible minimum in city elections.

This conclusion is logical in theory and demonstrated by fact. We know that partisan considerations had their greatest effect, and that our

cities were most scandalously betrayed, during the period when municipal offices were filled at the same elections in which state and national officers were elected. We know that the holding of municipal elections at a different time of the year from other elections, or in the off-years between other elections, has automatically acted to increase the consideration given to municipal candidates and affairs, and to decrease the weight of national party considerations among the voters.

We know, moreover, that the abolition of the party column ballot has the same effect. We know that the office group ballot, on which the voter is obliged to vote specifically for a candidate for each public office, increases the amount of free and independent judgment exercised by the electorate.

I freely admit that for many years to come national political parties will continue to be important factors in our municipal elections. I freely admit that many voters will continue to vote for candidates because they are members of national political parties. But I maintain, nevertheless, that separate municipal elections, and the office group ballot have demonstrated that the weight of partisan considerations in the electorate is dependent, to a strikingly large extent, upon the character of our electoral arrangements. I submit, therefore, that it is a further and logical step in the progress we have already made to provide a non-partisan election machinery for municipal officials. The experience of the last thirty years warrants us in believing that this will ultimately reduce national party considerations to their irreducible minimum in city elections.

DISCUSSION

BY ALBERT BUSHNELL HART

Harvard University

THE chairman's gracious invitation for those who wish to be heard is an opportunity which I do not wish to let pass. This evening we were talking about the early history of the League and recalling the first meeting of this association at Philadelphia—a time when things looked rather desperate—and the fact that so many people unexpectedly attended. As a matter of fact, the discussion of grievances was the motive for many of the early members of the National Municipal League. They felt that there was such an intolerable condition in so many cities that they were anxious that there should be some kind of an organization to confront those evils.

It is interesting to see how the point of view of the National Municipal League has changed as the years have gone by—not because the abominations of city government have ceased. The abuses in many cases were temporary; but sometimes they disappeared and then reappeared

again. The aim and business of thinking men interested in the affairs of their communities has been to build something that would stand, and that is why the activities of the League at this time and its publications appeal so strongly for support. I take it upon myself to say, after an experience with many organizations, that there seems no national society of this general type which has contributed so much to the actual upbuilding of the subject in which it is concerned. There is no society whose reports, whose discussions, whose personal work, has gone so far in actually affecting the text of charters and acts of the legislature. Notwithstanding, it would appear that the millennium has not even yet arrived; that there will still be an opportunity both for the criticism of abuses and for the suggestion of mitigation or prevention of abuses.

The real difficulty is one which has barely been touched upon here. I am not altogether in sympathy with all the speakers, though substantially at bottom I think they agree with each other. What! Three or four gentlemen agree in the National Municipal League? Forbid it, Heaven! I might illustrate by a remark made by one of the characters in *Les Misérables* somewhere, in which the speaker is discussing the creation. "God made the rat, then he said, 'Go to! I have made a mistake. That will not do.' And he created the cat." God saw the tenement houses in New York city, and he said, "Go to! I have made a mistake. That will not do." And he created Commissioner Murphy.

If there is too much national and state party spirit in municipal relations, it is because those most concerned prefer that way at present. I am a great believer in the doctrine that whatever is, is right. That is to say, that nothing exists in any form in municipal government that is accidental. Nothing exists because a few men here and there desire it. There is no abuse in municipal government which does not seem to some persons a simple method of increasing their income. We respectfully believe, meeting from year to year, that we are fixing the moral standards of the nation. Now, in New York city it is perfectly clear from the local elections during the past ten years, that a considerable part of the population, frequently a majority, in its own mind prefers what we think to be corrupt government. We define it as corrupt. You know the Tammany definition of the true type of man: "The man who is willing to go to hell for his friends." That is not so far from Jonathan Edward's doctrine, who served in the neighboring hamlet of Northampton. The best thing in society is the adhesion of individuals to individuals. You are my friend; I like you; and I will back you up. Even if you do things that I don't like, I will like them because I like you.

We leave out of account the force of personality in our governments of every type. One of the main reasons for the limited interest in municipal government as compared with national government,—which is also the main reason for the predominance of national parties in cities—

is that there is so little opportunity for a personal tradition to form in municipal affairs. Not every person has had the advantages of our chairman or Mr. Murphy in and under municipal service. You can be mayor once or twice or even three times, but you can't imagine a life mayor. A municipal public man goes on flowery beds of ease for two or five or ten years; but there will come a time when the people will be tired of seeing the same man at the head of the government; and until you can obviate that difficulty you can't get permanent reform in American municipal life.

It is much easier to interest men in individuals than in movements. The solution of the difficulties of democracy—the only solution—is to develop personality and group men more and more about commanding figures. That is the secret of the great success of the English parliamentary system of government. It is a system in which a few persons are looked up to as the examples of their party. They vote for one group because they are interested not only in the principles it represents, but because of the manner in which those principles will be represented.

We have had many men of commanding figure in the United States. During the Civil War a host of such men of character and strength were brought out; and there have been many since that time in this country. On the other hand we have too many small men. I come from a city which in the middle ages of American municipal reform was a model to the country. I lived in the midst of the Cambridge Idea. A non-partisan government was formed which consisted in organizing all the Republicans, plus a small part of the Democrats. Election after election we elected non-partisan mayors on that basis; but the truth is—I can see another Cambridge man here, and I think Mayor Rockhill will bear me out—that the result was at last weak mayors, a succession of men who ought never to have been elected.

After a time there appeared a bookbinder who knew how to defeat non-partisanship, and in the last ten years we have had party and partisan mayors till in 1915 we chose a man by something resembling fusion. In the long run the people of Cambridge are more interested in national affairs than in local issues. If I were not a professor I would say that one of the great election evils is the presence of a considerable body of very undesirable citizens, namely: the two hundred members of the Faculty who live in Cambridge. I assure you they pay their debts promptly and attend church frequently—especially those churches where there are no collections on the Sabbath Day; but as citizens they are absolute failures. You can't interest them in the welfare of the city in which they live. There isn't anything to stimulate their imagination. What is the remedy? I see none on the face of things.

I am greatly interested in what Professor Hatton has said about the development in Cleveland. I suppose that at bottom the main reason for

that state of things is Tom Johnson. Results have been achieved there because of his strong personality, his ability to convince the majority of his fellow citizens, and the discovery that a campaign could be waged on the issue in which he was strongly interested. This feature seems to me to be one of the dominant influences in politics. The strong adhesion to national parties exists because there are reasons for it which are satisfactory year after year to most of the voters. If you want to go to the legislature in most of the states you must have served as a city official in some capacity. If you want to go to Congress, you must have served a term or two in the legislature. If you cut loose from your party you are out of the running for the great prizes, because there are no leading permanent places in the municipalities. The directing minds change so rapidly that nobody can expect to achieve permanent distinction even in his own district.

When Alexander, Prince of Battenberg waited upon Bismarck and asked him if he should accept the proposed headship of Bulgaria, Bismarck replied: "Accept by all means. It will always be something to remember to have been Prince of Bulgaria."—So, it will always be something to remember, to have been mayor of a great city.

COMMISSION MANAGER GOVERNMENT IN SAN JOSÉ, CAL.

BY PROFESSOR ROBERT C. BROOKS

Swarthmore College

THERE is no more beautiful or fruitful valley in the world than the Santa Clara in California, and San José is its principal city. The prosperity of the valley is reflected in the growth of the city, which increased in population from 21,500 in 1900 to 28,946 in 1910. At present it claims, not without large apparent justification, some 40,000 people.

In addition to the superb natural advantages for which it has long been famous, San José recently drew attention to itself by becoming the first city in the state of California to adopt the orthodox commission manager plan.¹ Its former government was also "orthodox" enough according to the old style, that is with powers and responsibility bewilderingly diffused among various boards, commissions and single officers. The new charter which went into effect July 1, 1916, provides for a council of seven members, all of whom are ultimately to be elected at large for terms of six years. A city auditor and police judge are also chosen by popular vote for terms of four years each. The council selects the city manager and the following other appointive officers: a city clerk, a civil service commission, and a city planning commission. All other appointive officers are appointed and removed by the city manager. The charter also provides for the initiative and referendum, and for the recall of elective officers, the latter action requiring as its first step a petition signed by 25 per cent of the total number voting at the general municipal election next preceding.

As city manager under the new charter, Thomas H. Reed of Berkeley was chosen. At the time of his appointment, Mr. Reed was associate professor in the department of political science at the University of California, and since his graduation from Harvard had won for himself wide recognition as an authority upon municipal government. For a time he served as executive secretary to Governor Hiram W. Johnson. Mr. Reed had been of material assistance to the board of fifteen freeholders who drafted the new charter for San José. He entered upon his office, therefore, well trained in both scientific and practical politics, and thoroughly familiar with the terms of the new instrument.

¹ "City Manager Plan," by Joseph H. Quire, Bulletin University Extension Division, University of California, vol. i, no. 18. June, 1916.

It is, of course, too early to express a definitive opinion on the workings of the new charter. There lies before the present writer, however, a brief "Report of Progress, July 1 to November 30, 1916," prepared at the end of the old fiscal year by city manager Reed. It is one of the most interesting municipal documents recently issued by any American city, first because of the considerable number of problems which it reports as already solved, and second, because of the new problems indicated for future solution.

Limitations of space forbid more than the briefest mention of the more important items in this record of achievement. The new city manager lost no time in announcing that his office was to be regarded as a bureau of complaints open at all times to all citizens. Purchases were centralized and a system installed whereby it became possible to tell at any moment the exact condition of any city fund. A functional segregated budget was drawn up. As a result some noteworthy savings in purchases were made possible.

An official of one of the leading banks of the city was appointed city treasurer to serve without salary. The funds of the municipality were thereupon transferred from an old ramshackle vault in city hall where they were a constant source of anxiety, to the vaults of the bank which agreed to pay interest at the rate of 2.52 per cent on average daily balances. As a result of this one transaction a saving of \$1,560 on salaries was effected, to which may be added approximately \$3,000 a year new income from interest, making a total gain of \$4,560 annually.

Prior to the first primary occurring under the new régime, the personnel of the city administration was withdrawn from the field of local politics by a "non-participation-in-politics" order issued by the city manager's office. Some compliance on the part of public service corporations with their paving obligations was secured. An ordinance was prepared providing for the co-ordination of the numerous charitable activities of the city, and establishing an effective check upon the solicitation of funds for unworthy objects or for organizations with wasteful methods. An appropriation was made by the council for the codification of the ordinances of the city. Recent appointments to the board of education, the civil service commission, and the board of health have been followed by most gratifying new activities in all three of these fields. A separate and distinct department of electricity was created.

Largely because of the interest taken in the new form of government, San José has been able to secure without payment much valuable technical advice and assistance. Most of this service was rendered by experts from Stanford University and the University of California. One novel contribution of this sort was made by Professor Terman of the department of education of the former institution who employed the Binet and other intelligence tests in a civil service examination for the police and fire departments.

In Alum Rock park, San José possesses one of the most remarkable scenic reservations adjacent to any American city. It is located in a wild and beautiful cañon seven miles out, but is readily accessible by trolley and excellent roads. All the equipment in this park has been improved, special attention being given to the safety of bathers in the splendid plunge which the city owns. Rentals on concessions were increased about 40 per cent, representing an addition of about four hundred dollars a year to the city's revenue.

Considering the extreme salubrity of San José's location and climate, it comes with something of a shock to learn that its death rate has been "as high as the average for the whole registration area of the United States, which includes good and bad communities alike." The new administration, and particularly the new health officers, recognize in this condition one of the gravest problems confronting the city. Already they have to their credit the prevention of two threatening outbreaks of diphtheria. A new laboratory has been fitted up for the work of the health department. Other of its achievements are increased success in securing abatement of nuisances, the institution of a system of standard dairy score cards, and the inspection of tenement and lodging houses. The council has adopted a revised meat inspection ordinance.

For the police department provision has been made in the budget for the purchase of new Bertillon equipment, also for a finger print file. The Boston property file is also being introduced. A police school of instruction is to be started. An adequate supply of ammunition for revolver practice has been provided for in the new budget.

California cities do not grow many stories high up into the air. On the other hand, they do spread in leisurely fashion over ample areas. To enable patrolmen to cover the great beats assigned them in San José, three Fords have been purchased and six new flashlights installed.

With the fire department out of politics the loss from conflagrations has been materially reduced. Ten full-time men were added to the service and other reforms made by which it is hoped that the city may be able to secure from the underwriters' association the lowest key rate for insurance.

A new city engineer has been chosen to direct the important department of public works. Large problems have been marked out for solution in this field, including the control of Coyote creek, sewage disposal, paving, and street cleaning.

In spite of this stirring record of five months' work,—perhaps it would be nearer the truth to say because of it,—some opposition has developed recently to city manager Reed. It appears to be engineered by a small clique of old line officeholders who, were dismissed after their inability to measure up to the new requirements had become manifest. Quite naturally this opposition takes the form of an appeal to a perverted local

patriotism, a sort of municipal know-nothingism. A small number of appointments of men not at the time living within the immediate limits of the city furnished occasion for the cry: "San José for San Joseans." City manager Reed's reply would seem to establish clearly the pettiness of this attack. "Out of seven heads of departments selected by the manager," he writes, "but one is not a San José man. The only other outsider is the manager's personal assistant. . . . Out of 208 permanent positions in the classified service there are only three filled by technical non-residents. Even these are not genuine outsiders, for it is hardly to be said that persons living in the country adjacent to San José, who have been educated in our schools and employed by our citizens, are outsiders."

Another ground of attack is the rather vague insinuation of corporate influence over the new administration. The absurdity of this charge is evident to all who will take the trouble to study the record of the new city manager. The alleged impracticability of college professors is also being worked overtime, although in the present instance it is quite clear that the extreme practicality of Mr. Reed is alone responsible for the attacks upon him.

No doubt San José did make something of an innovation in choosing its new executive from the academic career. Hitherto men trained in engineering have been preferred generally for such positions. In smaller cities where the revenue is not sufficient to justify good salaries both for a manager and a city engineer no doubt this course is justified. In cities with larger revenues it is doubtful whether men of engineering training largely should be chosen as city managers. Engineering talent can always be secured, but broadminded executive ability is a much rarer quality needing cultivation in a somewhat more liberal environment. Walter Lippmann is undoubtedly right in maintaining that the statesman,—and this is as true in the municipality as in the nation,—“need not be a specialist himself, if only he is expert in choosing experts. It is better indeed that he should have a lay, and not a professional view. For the bogs of technical stupidity and empty formalism are always near and always dangerous.”

The case of Progress *versus* Reaction is now up to San José. It cannot be summed up better than in the words of city manager Reed himself:

We stand to-day in a spirit of deep humility before the solemn responsibilities of the future. The force of traditional habits of thought on government and politics must be overcome. The municipal machine must be speeded up to secure substantial public improvements without increase of expenditure before success is assured. There is no more necessary, no more noble piece of work for real men left in our country. Other cities are hopefully watching our efforts. If we fail we set back not only San José, but every other city struggling toward light. If we succeed, it will only be by a strong united effort of council, manager and people, moving together in harmony and confidence.

CITY MANAGER PROGRESS DURING 1916 ¹

IN INTRODUCING the speakers the chairman of the meeting, President Lawson Purdy, of the National Municipal League said:

We are to allow three minutes to each speaker on the program, and one minute for myself. The city managers have been asked to tell us the most important accomplishment of each of their cities during the last year. The first city manager was inaugurated in this country eight years ago. There are now twenty-eight states in which there are city managers. There are seventy cities managed by city managers, and there are eighty-eight cities in which the city manager system has been adopted. We will hear first from Mr. Waite of Dayton.

HENRY M. WAITE

Due to the new state law most of the smaller cities of Ohio are living within their income. None of the larger cities is succeeding in doing this. All have outstanding promissory notes. Dayton had \$125,000 of these notes, and it was issuing bonds for the operation of the city. The new government has stopped entirely the issuance of such bonds; has lived within its income; has paid off \$50,000 net debt, and is carrying over a surplus from 1916 into this, and will carry \$40,000 from this year into 1917.

GAYLORD C. CUMMIN, JACKSON, MICHIGAN

The greatest accomplishment of Jackson during the past year has been an increase in governmental harmony. We have harmony between city departments, which was never known before. We have harmony between city employes in the departments, which was never known before. We are acting in concert with the county of Jackson, which was never done before. We are co-operating with the school board in matters of recreation. We are co-operating with all civic agencies, which was never done before. That is being done because the administration of the city of Jackson is not jealous of any good that can be done by any agency, as long as it is for the good of the city, and we don't care who gets the credit.

KENNETH B. WARD, SANDUSKY, OHIO

The most important accomplishment of Sandusky has been the installation and maintenance of a city manager plan. So far, it has resulted in an increase in more and better service, and a decrease in the cost.

¹Being the report of a joint meeting of the City Managers' Association and the National Municipal League, Springfield, Mass., Nov. 23, 1916.

C. A. BINGHAM, NORWOOD, MASSACHUSETTS

Whatever has been accomplished in Norwood has been accomplished by the constant co-operation of our citizens, and not so much a matter of work on the part of the manager, because he is simply a part in the proceedings.

I think our most important endeavor has been to improve and repair our streets, which were full of ruts and holes and in very bad shape. To-day, instead of receiving complaints from automobile owners because of broken axles and springs, we have to arrest them for speeding. We have increased the efficiency of the various departments, especially in the purchasing department, where we combine all purchases, including the department of schools. We can trace a saving of \$9,000 in purchases. We have our storeroom full of coal. We have increased the efficiency of all departments, especially the electric light plants, but I think that our main accomplishment has been to get the people to work together in better harmony, and especially between the different officials, as Mr. Cummin remarked.

R. L. FITZGERALD, WINNETKA, ILLINOIS

We have installed an accounting system that tells us at all times where we stand financially and what we are doing. It shows that we have reduced the floating debt from \$9,000 to \$4,000. When you take into consideration that the total revenue from all taxes is only \$24,000, that is quite an item. We have also reduced the floating debt on the water works by \$8,000, and the entire amount will be wiped out very shortly. We have reduced the debt on the municipal lighting plant and have made lower rates than all adjoining towns and put the electric light plant where it gives us a revenue of \$30,000 over and above all expenses of depreciation and fixed charges, which can be used by other departments in municipal work.

ARTHUR M. FIELD, WINCHESTER, VIRGINIA

The city operates under and in accordance with a town charter, and has a mayor and council of twelve, elected by the people, and they elect most of the other officers. The council is a political body entirely elected by wards. The city manager, I think, was put in more for good luck than anything else. Nevertheless, we have got better service this year and have done more work and have reduced our operating expenses \$6,000 in a total budget of \$75,000. Next year we expect we will reduce them by at least \$10,000.

HARRISON GRAY OTIS, BEAUFORT, SOUTH CAROLINA

The elimination of the factor of politics from the city administration is the one big thing in our town this past year. We have organized our

local government along the lines recommended in the model charter of the National Municipal League, and have turned a deficit into a surplus with considerable less revenue than the city has ever had heretofore, making an investment equal to 7 per cent on the manager's salary for the past year. We keep the citizens in constant touch with the government by constructive, continued publicity.

J. G. BARNWELL, ROCKHILL, SOUTH CAROLINA

The most important accomplishment of our administration is that the floating debt has been reduced \$7,000. Seven thousand dollars were made on the electric light plant, and 10 per cent deduction was made in water rates. All the departments are now working in unison. We have accomplished much and we contemplate further advances.

CHAIRMAN PURDY: The next and last speaker of the city managers is the new president of the City Managers' Association, Mr. Carr of Niagara Falls, New York.

O. E. CARR, NIAGARA FALLS

The city manager plan of municipal administration went into effect in Niagara Falls on January 1, 1916. From the standpoint of the citizen I feel safe in saying that the greatest accomplishment during this year is a reduction of the tax rate of 97 cents per thousand dollars without an increase in the amount of valuation. This, without decreasing the efficiency of any department, but, on the contrary, extending the means of municipal work.

My own opinion, however, as to the greatest accomplishment in Niagara is not quite along those lines. Niagara Falls, like many of our cities, is divided very evenly into two political camps. In spite of that fact, however, there was no question asked of the city manager when he went there or previous to his appointment as to which of these two political parties he belonged. Furthermore, in the various departmental appointments in Niagara Falls, the administration was criticized more on account of not making appointments on non-partisan lines than for any other reason. That is the sort of criticism we desire. I will say further in this same connection that the administration of the fire and police departments has been and is now out of politics, both as to appointments and as to discipline of members of either of those departments. Not only that, but the members of the police department are now able and for the most part do exercise their duties without any regard to the political affiliations of the party whom they may have reason to suspect, or against whom complaint is made, irrespective of his standing in the community.

I want to say in this connection that our fines in Niagara, our police court fines for the year 1915, amounted to about \$3,900. For the first ten months of 1916 our police court fines amounted to \$7,800.

CHAIRMAN PURDY: I must call your attention once again before we adjourn to the fact that in sixteen minutes the city managers have told you more than we have probably ever heard before from a like number of cities of real accomplishment in those cities, and if that does not show a real efficiency under the city manager service I do not know anything else that would.

A PROGRAM OF POLITICAL DEMOCRACY AND CIVIC EFFORT¹

BY H. S. GILBERTSON

New York City

WHAT I propose to do in these remarks is to point a way in which, I am confident, the body of men and women of whom this gathering is highly representative, could go very far in shaping the future of American political democracy. We do not now exercise any very effective leadership. Powerful democratic movements go on, in the same old way by an endless series of experiments and bad guesses, either without any guidance or under the guidance of men who are distinguished more for benevolent instincts than for their knowledge of the principles and measures which make for popular rule and efficient administration. In the face of this situation we have been blind to a big opportunity; we are lamentably equipped for our task. But we can remedy that condition by going to the bottom of things and facing our failures squarely.

As we look back upon the powerful popular movements of the past we know perfectly well that most of them were so ill-conceived and so ill-timed that they actually defeated their own purposes. In the early part of the last century there was a mad rush to get every public officer on the election ballot, because it was perfectly *obvious* that that was democracy. There was no analysis of community life, no distinction between politics and administration—just a wild, leaderless stampede after an attractive, superficial idea. The progress of democracy was set back; how many decades it would be impossible to say. And who can begin to estimate the cost of this great mistake in terms of graft and inefficiency and the general lowering of political morals that followed?

In our own time the direct primary movement has gone the same way—an idea probably right in principle, it swept the country like a prairie fire. And now it has proven a huge disappointment because it came into being out of its due order when it was out of keeping with the existing organization of our governments. Even some of the most active promoters of the direct primary are going to extremes in the other direction and are repudiating it. The initiative and referendum movement also suffered grievously for lack of standards, so that many of the constitutional provisions which put them into effect have proven practically worthless.

While these movements have been running their several courses, what has the competent leadership of the country been doing? In two or three special fields it has been demonstrating that carefully prepared standards

¹ An address delivered at the annual meeting of the League, Nov. 24, 1916.

are acceptable and will be sought after and adopted by the leaders of the people. The civil service reform organizations have been effective in establishing certain standards of official employment. The National Municipal League and the Short Ballot Organization have done something to standardize municipal characters. The bureaus of municipal research have done much to raise standards of administrative procedure and organization. In these and a few other limited fields men of special training have come into their own as constructive leaders.

But so far from attempting to direct the main course of democratic development, the type of men to whom the leadership should be committed have been principally spectators.

But I do not wish even to seem to minimize the efforts which have been made by earnest men within and out of these organizations. These men have been careful, cautious and sincere. The fact is that they probably have not been quite sure of themselves.

In our constructive political thinking we have passed through a period of incubation in which a lot of ideas and remedies were developing. The fittest have survived. I shall indicate shortly what I think they are. It is not long ago, perhaps not over a half dozen years, since each of these ideas had its separate distinct group of proponents who looked with tolerance but not with any great enthusiasm upon the others' favorite reforms.

But they have been getting together! Every intelligent political reconstructionist knows perfectly well that the new political democracy, if it ever comes about, will be the product of the practical working out of *several* ideas, each of which was once the peculiar possession of certain individuals or groups. I believe that we are now about ready to formulate a rather comprehensive constructive program of political democracy upon which a great constituency could be united. And I believe that the emphasis in national civic work should in the immediate future be rather less on the discussion of principles and should be very much more definitely directed toward a well-considered campaign to put into practice the principles which are now so generally accepted among progressive thinking people that they may be set down as practically undebatable.

Now what are these principles? My own thinking along these lines was started by a casual statement by Henry L. Stimson in the course of an address in the New York constitutional convention last year. Mr. Stimson was one of a group of men in that convention who are generally acknowledged to represent the keenest practical intelligence in the Republican party—men like Elihu Root, George W. Wickersham, Herbert Parsons and John Lord O'Brian (there was a corresponding group on the Democratic side). They had set themselves seriously about the business of constructing a modern commonwealth. They had listened attentively and sympathetically to the active promoters of every specific political

reform; and the program which they evolved and fought for in the convention was a composite of the fundamentals of democracy as enunciated by such organizations as the National Municipal League, the bureau of municipal research, the civil service reform league, the municipal government association and the Short Ballot Organization. Mr. Stimson in summing up the program said in effect: "What we have been trying to do in this convention is to erect a government, the cornerstone of which is the principle of responsibility. We started out with the executive budget—that implied a clearer definition of executive responsibility with reference to the finances of the state. We took up home rule for cities and for counties—that involved the fixing of community responsibility for taking care of its own proper affairs. We have taken up the civil service clause whose purpose is to fix the undivided allegiance and responsibility of the employes of the state to the visible government. We recently took up a provision for a short practice act, the effect of which would be to fix the responsibility of the judiciary over its own procedure. And finally now we are taking up the short ballot, for the purpose of fixing citizen responsibility and still further defining executive responsibility."

There you are—the principle of responsibility. I think I am perfectly safe in saying not only that all of us here believe in it but that it has the support of a vast constituency everywhere, which is waiting for competent leadership to work out the specifications and put the thing through. I have not by any means enumerated all the items in a complete program, but rather some of the items upon which I think we are all agreed. I strongly suspect that after a further period of incubation we shall want to come out for legislative responsibility to be achieved through a single-chambered legislature, a simplification of procedure and provision for expert bill drafting and a few other accessories of a well-rounded democracy.

Now I believe that through a program organized around this comprehensive idea, we could very shortly broaden the constituency interested in political reconstruction. For thirty years our various organizations have been industriously cultivating the sympathy and the pocketbooks of a relatively small group of rather well educated citizens in different parts of the country. I should say that there were a few thousand of them at most. They are the only people who have the patience to grapple with or to sympathize with these more or less technical and special reforms. They constitute the limited class of people who are willing to devote themselves to what seem to most people mere abstractions.

On the other hand I know that there are thousands of plain citizens who are itching to get into the kind of a fight for a more efficient democracy in which they can make themselves felt. We cannot get them into the Short Ballot Organization because they know perfectly well that the short ballot is not a complete remedy. They are perfectly willing to give

it passive support but they do not think it important enough to bleed and die for. For the same reason they do not warm up to the civil service reform associations or bureaus of municipal research. Political parties offer these people no outlet for their energies. So far as any active, positive political service to their communities is concerned, they are practically disfranchised.

The fact is that our organizations, owing to the lack of a complete program, have had nothing to offer those important groups of public-spirited citizens who approach the problem of representative government through a special interest like public health, charities, engineering. We have thrown aside great opportunities for demonstrating that representative government is a very tangible, vital, practical thing; that it is the leverage for effecting any far-reaching public purpose. We have yet to learn the art of the successful advertiser who sells his goods because he individualizes his appeal. People do not buy Dutch Cleanser because of its chemical formula. They buy it because it "chases dirt."

A program of responsible government offers an approach to the solution of a lot of human problems. In Dayton, for instance, the new government, as you know, has performed a variety of important services that directly touch the lives of a great many people; it has decreased the infant mortality rate something like 50 per cent, it has given legal aid, better recreation facilities, etc. Now, I have no doubt the citizens of Dayton appreciate these services and if you were to ask them what did it they would say "our new city manager government"—not our new budget system, or the short ballot, or the civil service provisions in the charter, but the combination of all these things which gave them an effective leverage to the things they wanted; what we who are constantly working in political science call the principle of responsibility applied to government.

I believe that people would warm up to such a big fighting program as I have outlined. And the basis of my belief is that they have already actually done so in some four hundred cities. Commission government is a program of responsibility. The average citizen sees it as a complete whole. He does not linger long upon its short ballot features, or its civil service provisions or its non-partisan elections. Indeed he takes his commission government mostly on faith. He knows that it is well sponsored and that it really works in other cities and he goes out and fights for it with as much zeal as a ward heeler who expects some definite reward.

There are now some ten or twelve million people who live under a local government organized around this principle and in general they know that it is good. I believe that those millions and some millions more who envy their good fortune are right now in a receptive mood to listen to a proposition for commission government in counties, states and nation. By that I do not mean the commission *plan* or any other mere form of

organization, but the principle which underlies its success. Commission government principles applied to the nation would mean among other things the establishment of a budget system and the end of the pork-barrel. It would end the spoils system in the post-office and treasury department and the diplomatic service. It would put an end to the abuse of senate "courtesy."

But I have said that we must have a fighting program. By that I mean first of all a campaign to popularize fundamental reconstruction, not a special phase of it, but the fact that government all along the line needs more or less reconstruction before it can perform the services which we, the people, expect it to perform.

It means, secondly, the formulation of an adequate program to meet this situation; a program which will grow from year to year as our knowledge advances and conservatism recedes.

It means, thirdly, the framing of specific measures and their advancement through publicity and other legitimate forms of political pressure.

How can such a plan be put before the people?

In the first place I believe that the present multiplicity of organizations, each covering a phase of political reform, overlapping at many points, leaving many important fields untouched, coming before the same constituency interminably with appeals for funds, is in itself the greatest sort of impediment to our civic movements. I believe there should be an organic unity which will follow very closely the lines of our unity of purpose. And so I am going to make certain suggestions which may be treated as a "pipe-dream," or otherwise, as you see fit.

I believe that the ideal way to bring about this unity would be for the half dozen or so propaganda and discussion organizations like the National Municipal League, the civil service reform league, the National Voters League and the Short Ballot Organization to sink their identity in a new organization which would cover the whole field of representative responsible government.

Some of you will immediately object that these organizations are firmly rooted in the affection of particular groups of people who would not relish the experience of acting as pallbearers at their own funerals. That is doubtless a very real difficulty, but although I may be indulging in a "pipe-dream" I am convinced that the practical advantages which would accrue to these separate interests would more than compensate for the loss of identity. What would it mean to our civic work, if instead of several slimly attended meetings of this Municipal League, the civil service reform league and the others, they were combined into one great gathering of civic leaders on the scale of the National Conference of Charities and Correction that would make a real impression not only in the city of their meeting place but in the press of the country. It would mean not simply the sum of the attendance and the publicity and the prestige of the

separate organizations, but the sum multiplied several fold because of the wider circle of citizenship to which we would appeal.

And a similar logic applies to finance. At present we are constantly competing against each other and against dozens of other organizations in related fields for membership and contributions—with what success we all know too well. But unless I miss my guess, the dynamic force of a comprehensive program, backed by a strong organization employing modern methods of publicity would bring in more funds than the separate units, for reasons which I have already suggested.

At the same time I would make it possible for individuals to express their special interest in special phases of the program just as they now express that interest through one or more special organizations. The work of the present organizations should go right on, but through departments of the new organization. And, in order that any financial supporter might express his particular interest, I would segregate the funds so that those who wished to emphasize civil service could devote a part or the whole of their contribution to that specific phase of the work. Others would prefer to put their whole financial weight behind the municipal movement, and so on. From the general funds these separate funds would be supplemented according to some predetermined principle, which ought not to be difficult to decide upon.

I am convinced that the future success of our civic organizations is dependent upon their ability to make a big appeal to the imagination of the people, to humanize the issues as they have been humanized in some of our cities. We certainly cannot do this as distinct units. *We can* do it in my opinion by pooling our interests and our resources. There are situations in which it is actually much easier to do the big progressive thing rather than the safe little conservative thing. We civic workers in my opinion now face an unprecedented opportunity to do a big thing, if we are prepared to attack it in a big, constructive, fearless way.

DISCUSSION OF MR. GILBERTSON'S PAPER

BY RAYMOND B. FOSDICK¹

New York City

IN DISCUSSING the subject of co-ordination or amalgamation of civic forces, Mr. Gilbertson has addressed himself primarily to the latter, evidently on the theory that of the two possibilities, amalgamation is preferable. I confess I cannot quite follow Mr. Gilbertson in this belief. There are so many human factors to be taken into consideration in the amalgamation of separate organizations that I am afraid we should find such a plan far more difficult than it looks on paper. Each of us is primarily interested in a particular line of civic work. Some of us believe in single tax, and are bending all our energies to that end. Others of us have no sympathy with single tax, and see in municipal research the avenue of most rapid civic advance. It would be extremely difficult to find common factors enough for such an amalgamation as Mr. Gilbertson suggests. And even if we did succeed in combining on certain movements or ideas as the basis of the militant program that Mr. Gilbertson talks about, I am fearful that we should antagonize large sections of the public in our endeavor to gain support for the plan. The public could not whole-heartedly endorse an organization which included certain movements in which it had no interest or with which it frankly disagreed. As a result, we would weaken the whole cause by trying to associate it with movements which for the time being, perhaps, are too undeveloped to obtain any appreciable amount of public support.

Moreover, I would suggest the thought that progress is not achieved in the fashion that Mr. Gilbertson implies. Reform is never accepted wholesale. Civic ideals never advance in a uniform line. A little progress in this direction is followed by a little progress in another direction, or from another angle. These advances are irregular, sometimes irrational, often without relation to each other, but by and by we find that the whole line has gradually moved forward. The result has been achieved not by a mighty "drive" but by a series of petty skirmishes. The methods by which human society changes its form may not be scientific but they have to be given pretty weighty consideration.

While, therefore, believing that such an amalgamation as Mr. Gilbertson has indicated is impossible at the present time, I am heartily in favor, as anyone would be who has studied the subject, of a far greater degree of

¹ Former commissioner of accounts of New York city; author of "European Police Systems."

co-ordination between civic agencies than now exists. If we could harness up the energy that is lost and misspent through duplication of work alone, I think we would have momentum enough to reach a good many civic goals that now seem far ahead of us. Overlapping of activity is one of the chief characteristics of our civic agencies. In New York city, for example, we have a training school for public service and an institute for public service, both answering—at least both assuming to answer—the same needs. If the money which supports both these agencies could be used to support a single agency, the work could be far more effectively conducted. But here again we have to take human characteristics into consideration. Differences in temperament are often the sole basis for different organizations, and our theories of co-ordination suffer from the frailties of human nature. We may not succeed in eliminating all the duplicating organizations in civic work, but at least we can highly resolve never to lend support to any new society unless it can prove by preponderating evidence its individual right to live. We can afford to be ruthless in this matter, particularly when we remember that fully 25 per cent of our civic agencies—and I am sure my figures are conservative—should be scrapped.

One phase of co-ordination is not often discussed. Many of our organizations—I mean the necessary ones—have no effective means of getting their ideas before the public. Either because they do not know how or because they are without proper facilities, they are unable to popularize the proposals which have met with the approval of a few specialists. There is no widespread educational program to embrace the latest ideas in civic reform. A few movements like the short ballot proposition and the city manager form of government are striking exceptions to this general rule. The central ideas incorporated in these two propositions have by a very effective process been given wide currency throughout the entire country. One hears about them everywhere, and the gentleman whose paper I am discussing has had no unimportant part to play in this remarkably effective piece of political education. But there are other civic ideas with which the public is little acquainted, or imperfectly acquainted, because of the lack of educational propaganda on a broad scale. The executive budget, for example, the relation of cost accounting to effective government control, the broad principle of a responsible executive, could be made the basis of an educational campaign that would do more to wake up the country than anything else I can imagine. The trouble with many of our organizations is that they represent small groups of experts, whose thinking is largely confined to themselves. We are not putting across to the public on the scale that it should be put across, the result of our deliberation and investigation.

For example, the need of a national budget has been fully established by competent research. The facts have been completely developed by

the Taft commission of 1912, by Willoughby's forthcoming volume on English budget practice, and by the forthcoming book on Canadian financial procedure. Very few people have read or will read these somewhat technical reports and books. They can be made the basis, however, of a propaganda that would arouse the whole country to the necessity of a responsible budget system in Washington. The same thing is true of state budgets. Maryland, for example, has recently adopted an executive budget system which may well serve as a model for other states. All that is necessary to its wider adoption is to give substantial publicity to its operation and effectiveness. Similarly, the principles of efficient state management in the form of a responsible executive have been pretty fully developed, and a propaganda on this point would lay the foundations for the reorganization of state government which is inevitably bound to come. The principles of county government are also being worked out, and here, too, there is a need of systematic publicity.

This situation seems to me to present a unique field for co-ordination. Why should not all our many organizations club together to support a common selling agency or clearing house, whose business it would be to take the well established results of study and investigation, and by temperate, sure-footed, and dignified publicity put them before the entire country? Such a program for political education, supported by bodies like the bureau of municipal research, the institute for government research, the National Voters' League, the National Chamber of Commerce, and the National Municipal League, would be far more effective than any of the retail methods at present employed. In this fashion our various organizations could find a common ground for fellowship, and out of this ultimately might come an approach to the amalgamation of which Mr. Gilbertson has been speaking.

THE CITY'S CARE OF THE NEEDY¹

A PROGRAM FOR A DEPARTMENT OF CHARITIES

BY MARY KINGSBURY SIMKHOVITCH

New York City

ONE of the most amazing lacks in our knowledge of city administration is the total absence of historical sketches of departmental development. Since Mr. Woodruff kindly asked me to address this gathering, an ancient habit of mine I had acquired in my youth, especially in Germany, led me to try to reinforce what I have to say by documentary evidence and support. There isn't any! As far as I can learn, and I shall be delighted if I am misinformed, no such material is available to the student of city government. There are indeed spasmodic reports published by the city departments of charities from time to time, but these are records of administrative detail or more often roseate and partial pictures perverted with an eye to forthcoming appropriations.

What I have to say, therefore, in regard to the position of the charities departments to other aspects of city development will be quite unsupported by adequate initial study. Let us hope that the attention of community students in the field of political administration may be directed to meet this need.

But certain broad lines in the development of the city's care of the needy are familiar to us all. We need only to organize the material fresh to our joint experience to be able to deduce from it, I hope, some salutary reflections on the course this care should take in the immediate future.

NEGATIVE CHARACTER OF EARLY GOVERNMENT CONTROL

Our city governments in their early history were negative in character. Laissez-faire—implicit in our entire social attitude—was at its height in our cities. Protection of life and property practically summarized the city's efforts in government. Police and fire departments were perceived as necessary for the common welfare. But the citizens otherwise were not thought of as engaged in a joint enterprise, but each was expected to protect his family's health, educate his children, engage in any kind of work any number of hours, live in any kind of building and enjoy such recreations as he saw fit. If these recreations became a public scandal, the will of the community began to organize itself in opposition and there

¹ An address delivered at the annual meeting of the National Municipal League, Nov. 24, 1916.

fell under the ban of police surveillance or other social control, the saloon, houses of prostitution and gambling resorts.

INCREASED EMPHASIS ON POLICE POWER OF THE STATE

From the police powers of the state sprang a development of social responsibility. From the negative point of view of protecting the public against a menace to public health, a positive program of public health began to emerge. And under this most fortunate banner have marched into recognition an increasing number of social obligations. The slogan of public health has supported industrial improvement. This is the line travelled successfully from court to court, and sustained with increasing emphasis and certainty. Any reform that can take on the form of an improvement in public health has a chance of a successful issue. Under the general heading of public health measures we have improved our food and water supply, introduced medical inspection into our schools, controlled our building regulations, introduced building zones, etc. Our health boards are endowed with extraordinary powers which they are utilizing with increased boldness and with a larger and larger measure of public support. The course that public health programs have followed have all been from the negative and protective to the positive and preventative. Health officers early endeavored to isolate conspicuously infectious diseases. Smallpox houses were seen to be necessary. The care of the sick indeed has been from times immemorial a recognized community obligation where private charity and humanitarian impulse failed to meet the need. But as the sick in well-to-do families are generally looked after by their kinsmen it was naturally the sick poor that fell to the community's care and the accent was on the poor rather than the sick—not the poor sick but the sick poor needed the community's assistance.

From the initial provision against the spread of contagion and the care of the sick our city health departments have come now to the point where their great emphasis lies in the educational task of preventing disease and creating a positive constructive program of public health welfare. School children are examined for physical defects and treated for them. Insidious disease is checked and cared for in its incipient stages. The standards of purity in the food supply are raised. Dwellings are made by law fit for human occupancy. Opportunities for degradation are lessened or driven out in the name of public health. The evils of alcoholism and prostitution are beginning to be perceived from the angle of health rather than morals and hence to be subjected to a more rigorous and drastic regulation.

EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

While this evolution has been taking place in the health department a similar story may be instanced in the care of the departments of education.

While it was early recognized that no democracy is on a sound foundation that does not abolish illiteracy, education in colonial times was entirely voluntary, haphazard and private in character.

The first schools of the people in New York city were charity schools. It was not until 1874 that New York state established its compulsory public school system. The rich felt a responsibility to the state for the education of the poor but the community as a whole did not recognize its joint responsibility and its common task until much later. Education began as a privilege of the well-to-do. It gradually widened to an appreciation of its value to all and then blossomed out into a positive and vital necessity for which the community must hold itself liable and responsible.

A rich girl visiting a public school with me one day said "Oh, Mrs. Simkhovitch, what a lovely charity." What was going on in her mind was evidently this, "Schools are expensive. I went to an expensive school. This school too must be expensive. Poor people can't pay for it. Therefore rich people must be paying for it. Therefore it is a charity."

The idea of a community carrying on a joint enterprise in which the primary consideration is not the amount of money that each contributes but the amount of service the community confers on its members with the knowledge that it will all come back fourfold had not dawned on that girl's mind.

And this mental attitude is far from uncommon. We do not often meet it in the field of education because we have become accustomed to the American public school system and are deadened to its revolutionary implications.

For we have moved far from the early ideal of getting rid of positive illiteracy and we are now practically all united in defending a positive educational program which will provide for the free education of all children up to maturity with as many further free educational opportunities presented as economic circumstances allow. The state that educates its citizens will reap its own reward. We are so convinced that a better and more prolonged and varied education is necessary to our community welfare, and we are so convinced that drastic public health measures are valuable and necessary, that we may now practically take it for granted that prosperous cities will spend more money and energy in developing educational opportunities and a constructive health program, and will meet with no opposition except from those sinister interests whose only program consists of keeping down the tax rate regardless of social consequences.

CLASSIFICATION IN THE CHARITIES' DEPARTMENTS

But when we come to the charities' departments we find a different evolution, or rather as yet a very slight or no evolution. I do not mean

to say that no progress has been made in administration. There certainly has. The terrible indifference or worse which used to surround the inmates of alms-houses is disappearing where it has not gone entirely. The poor are no longer lumped together indiscriminately, old and young; men, women and children; insane, criminal, diseased and simply poor.

A humane and intelligent classification has taken place. The old are treated with more respect. More is involved than an improved terminology when the old poorhouse is called "The City Home for Dependent Adults." There is also an improved mental attitude and a more humane care. Sanitation has been vastly improved and the whole tone of the city's care of dependents in institutions has decidedly advanced. Occupations have been introduced that give interest, hope and vigor to the inmates. The sick poor are segregated in hospitals, the insane are removed to proper institutions, the mentally defective are beginning to be classified as they ought to be. And yet when all this is admitted it must be pointed out that the city's responsibility for its needy has in no way been so constructively considered or met as has the city's responsibility for the education of its young people and for the general health of the community.

NO BASIC PROGRAM HAS EMERGED

There are indeed serious gaps in the carrying out of the community program for proper education and health but in the case of the departments of charities no constructive program has ever emerged.

In the case of education there is at least a census taken of all children and they are all registered in the various schools of their choice. But I do not know of any department of public charities that has ever taken any kind of census of those of the community who are living below the standard of living which should obtain in that given community. Just as the uneducated child will prove to be the uneducated voter, so the children brought up in families where the proper standard of living is not maintained will in all probability become sooner or later in one form or another public charges. Should not a constructive program for a department of charities then include as its basis a careful study of the standard of living of the community which it serves?

The results of that study might show defects in sanitation, in personal hygiene, in educational equipment, and also in industrial evils of unemployment, seasonal employment, and inadequate income.

The New York department of charities has a bureau of social investigation which aims at doing the same thorough work with individual families as is done by private societies dealing with industrial and family distress or destitution.

But, as in the case of the private societies, the weakness of this plan consists in the fact that it reaches only the more obvious cases, whereas the slow process of social deterioration that takes place in families where

the standard of living is going down remains often unnoticed until positive breakdown takes place.

Visiting teachers, settlement visitors, parish visitors all have access to normal homes. It is not feasible or proper that the relationship thus established should become common property, but it would not be unsuitable to register in some central bureau anonymously the type of help that agencies are giving which results in tiding families over temporary distress or which permanently re-establishes their proper standard of living. This might help a bit in the collection of adequate data on which to build a community program for the proper care of the needy.

A BUREAU OF PREVENTION

But something more effective than this is needed. A bureau of prevention would seem to be an obviously necessary field of machinery for every progressive department of charities. Such a bureau would naturally classify the causes of family poverty, discovered by its social investigators. These are already known to be,

1. Inadequate income
2. Alcoholism
3. Unemployment
4. Sickness
5. Old age
6. Inadequate training for livelihood, etc.
7. Death of bread-winners

Take, *e.g.*, no. 6, inadequate training for livelihood, etc. Now, no department of charities would dream of undertaking to furnish vocational training for the young, although it is known that the lack of it makes for poverty. But that ought not to hinder the departments of charities from giving vigorous public support to vocational education on the ground that it will be a help in abolishing poverty.

So in the same way it has never been clear to me that the department of charities should be given the care of the sick poor. The sick should be the care of the department of health, just as vocational training is the duty of the department of education. The uneducated should be sent to school, the sick to hospitals, the convalescent to sanatoria. And a good bureau of prevention would advocate and promote social insurance legislation with especial reference to sickness. So, too, a bureau of prevention would recommend the proper care of dependent children. Children belong in homes; homes with a little not a big "H." And we must be grateful indeed that more and more children are boarded out in proper families rather than dumped even into the best institutions.

OUT-RELIEF AGAIN POSSIBLE

Out-relief was condemned in the past, not because home life is not best, but because city government was so corrupt that it was felt, and rightly felt at the time, that the wrong people would get the relief if administered to people out of institutions. The very fact that people hated to go to the poorhouse would keep out those who did not need relief. This was true—but it never met the problem. It simply concealed it. It meant that people who needed relief did not get it or else secured it from private sources.

The whole method of institutional care of the dependent tends by its very nature to conceal the magnitude of the problem with which a constructive department of charities ought to deal.

It has now been generally conceded that in the case of poverty due to the death of the bread-winner, adequate care of children would better devolve upon the widowed mother than upon any institution. Pensions for widows are now being supplied by many communities. The argument against out-relief becomes weaker as city administration improves. The last decade has shown a diminishing political corruption in all American cities, and we may naturally, therefore, expect to have the whole question of out-relief again reconsidered in the light of our improved political situation. More especially ought this to be emphasized in the case of the aged. Even if we had adequate social insurance there would be a certain number of aged poor who would have to be in one form or another pensioned.

An extreme distaste for the almshouse is universal. In many country communities the few dependent poor are boarded out by the selectmen as the simplest way of looking after people who have fallen into absolute poverty. I believe that the time has come when we ought also to consider boarding out the aged dependent in cities. I know that this is done in many instances and I believe it would be a great service if we could find just how this plan is actually working out, both financially and from the point of view of happiness and well-being of the aged poor themselves. As it is now, these poor old people drift in and out of almshouses. There is no stability or dignity in a situation filled with so much insecurity. Difficulties of proper inspection must be reckoned with, but these difficulties are not insuperable, as has been discovered in the case of the boarding out of dependent children and the community care of widows' families.

A bureau of prevention would certainly stress prevention for unemployment and would endeavor to do what is possible to lessen seasonal unemployment.

But most important of all is it that a city department of charities should face the undeniable fact that the most important difficulty it has to meet is inadequate income. If the department of education did its work, and the department of health did its work, the chief difficulty that the depart-

ment of charities would still have to meet would be that which comes from incomes of families, inadequate to maintain a standard of living which is necessary to keep families from sinking into dependence.

PUBLICATION OF WAGE STATISTICS

I think that it would be quite within the proper province of a department of charities, therefore, to collect wage statistics of its locality and to publish them.¹ Publicity would tend to reduce the most shameful inadequacies of wage payment, and would draw the attention of the public as nothing else could do to the fact that where wages are inadequate, the community has to make up the deficit in the care of those who are broken down by an inadequate standard of living. Industries paying inadequate wages would then be seen to be what they are, parasites upon the community, accepting aid which they themselves should give. Taxpayers' organizations fighting the increased cost of city administration ought to be chiefly interested in maintaining the social structure so that it does not break down. But it is to be feared that many of those who are opposed to payment for proper care for the wreckage that takes place in society are among those who themselves are responsible for that wreckage.

CONCLUSION

To capitulate, the first duty of a department of charities would, therefore, seem to be to know the extent of poverty which exists, its second to establish a bureau of prevention which would include a study and furtherance of social insurance, the removal of unemployment (especially seasonal unemployment) and an industrial report including a public statement of wages paid in the industries of the community (such a bureau would also co-operate with educational and health departments but would not endeavor to encroach upon their fields as is done at present); and thirdly, such a department of charities should endeavor as far as possible to reduce its institutional care, although there will probably

¹ Competent counsel informs me that a liberal construction of the powers of the board of charities of the state of New York would justify it in making an investigation of the general standard of wages and publishing the results. While there is no decision expressly dealing upon the point, the question is reduced to one of construction of the statute.

The Laws of 1909, chap. 57, sec. 9, state that:

"State board of charities . . . shall . . . investigate the condition of the poor seeking public aid and advise measures for their relief.

Collect statistical information in respect to . . . the number and condition . . . of the poor receiving public relief."

Section 19:

"The state board of charities . . . may, in its discretion . . . make other and special reports."

If the board has this power, it follows necessarily that it has a right to subpoena witnesses in the exercise of such power.

always be a certain number of persons who will have to be looked after in institutions. But, in general, dependent children and the dependent aged can be both humanely and as economically (or almost as economically) looked after outside of institutions as in them. The middle-aged dependent sick should be looked after by the health authorities.

If such a program were to be inaugurated we should have the city's care of the needy brought up to the same high and constructive level as are the educational and health departments. Such a department might properly be called, not a department of charities, but a department for the prevention and care of destitution. Its aim would be to abolish itself. As it is now, the department of charities is a dumping ground. The amount of poverty in a neighborhood is the measure of its educational, health, and industrial inefficiency. The more imposing the charitable institutions, the more clearly does our social inefficiency manifest itself. Until the community learns to tackle the question of poverty from the point of view of the community as is done in the case of education and health, we shall never be able to show efficient results. But it is here that the trail of private profit as opposed to community interests is most in evidence, and until private profit is subordinate to community welfare, a genuine attempt to meet this situation is bound to be feeble and inefficient.

PRIVATE AND PUBLIC WELFARE ACTIVITIES

BY ALLEN T. BURNS¹

Cleveland, Ohio

THE program committee has suggested the subject, "When should private welfare activities be assumed by the public." You all remember only too well the fall of 1914. We were all wondering what we should do to get through the terrible winter of unemployment. Pursuant to that very common thought the Cleveland foundation made a study of the relief-giving agencies in its home city. It announced at the end of that piece of research that poverty is a community responsibility; that the community must come to know how much poverty there is; its causes and methods of prevention; that the community would adopt preventive measures only as the community felt the burden of poverty through the tax rate. Thinking we had said something profound, we rested on our oars, and nothing happened, except for such private effort as tried to meet the emergencies of the winter.

Some of you will remember the Pittsburgh survey of 1909. Perhaps as striking a feature of that report as any was a very clear description of how the old theory of compensation for accidents had broken down; that courts could no longer determine just whose was the fault of the accident and so failed utterly to meet the situation. Because of this breakdown between legal theory and practice it was recommended that some new form of public compensation for accidents should result. But nothing happened in Pennsylvania—at least not for many years.

When I remembered these two incidents and what seemed to be the fundamental character of the principles that had been announced as the results of these two inquiries, the whole plan of my address for to-night was changed. I had made out what seemed to me an adequate list of six principles that should guide the public in taking over private welfare activity, but as I went over the two instances mentioned, and many others, it seemed to me that the public was not acting on any philosophical or sociological basis in assuming welfare activity. For all practical purposes, it might be wiser to ask: "When *does* the public assume private welfare activities?"

A case already cited may, perhaps, enlighten us: That report of the Cleveland Foundation did nothing to lead the private relief agencies, especially the largest private relief agency of Cleveland, to turn over its work to the public. In only 44 per cent of the families cared for by this society was there adequate service rendered by the visitors, and in only

¹ See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. vi, p. 182.

50 per cent of the cases was adequate relief given to keep those families on a basis of physical welfare. What happened was that the private agency capitalized that report, or partially capitalized it, and proceeded to raise larger funds and make still larger expenditures in the effort to meet this need. So zealous were they, indeed, that they have, within the last three years, piled up a deficit of eighty thousand dollars.

Just recently their donors met and said: "This burden is becoming too great. If we are going to support you for another year you must begin to hand over some of your welfare activity to the city." It was a practical situation, and no philosophy used. Likewise, in the Pennsylvania situation regarding compensation for accidents, nothing happened from the pronouncement of the new legal principle that must be followed. Of course, the need was felt by the families of those five hundred working men that were killed every year in Allegheny county, but the state of Pennsylvania seemed to do nothing about it, until the United States Steel Corporation took an interest. The United States Steel Corporation had a compensation department, but its local competitors did not, so there was a compensation commission appointed by the state, with a local attorney for the United States Steel Corporation at its head. Eventually, because of the combined sense of need on the part of the working men and the feeling that the burden had been carried too long by private organization, and that it should be shared by the public, Pennsylvania became the thirtieth state in the Union to adopt a workmen's compensation law.

Take the most recent assumption of private welfare activity by the public—the Adamson bill, as we call it. There was no very long philosophizing about just where private functions end and where public functions begin before that bill was passed. It was a practical situation which had to be met, and though we may like it or may not, it was met, and the public has approved the verdict of the jury. In other words, society is very much like individuals, for when an emergency arises they are apt to act first and philosophize afterwards. All human nature faces practical situations and meets them, and thinks about why it was done after the need has been cared for. It does little good to sociologize as to when private welfare activities should be taken over by the public. We should study when it happens and how it happens and get ready for the procedure that is surely coming along with giant strides.

Just take a few more actual occurrences to illustrate the point: I remember in the city of Chicago that one of the social settlements had a little back yard of fifty-five or seventy-five feet, and in summer days some five hundred children used to play on that vacant lot. A great many settlements were trying to take care of the recreation needs of Chicago in some such inadequate way. To the astonishment of us all, one day a political office holder announced that there was to be an issue of five or

six million dollars of bonds to meet the recreation needs of a part of Chicago, and we wondered where he got the vision. It was a stroke of lightning from a clear sky. Somehow he had been tipped off that a popular exigency was arising, and being much more sensitive than most reformers as to what the people are thinking, he saw that here was something that the public was bound to assume.

In the city of Detroit I found that what has been thought of as one of the most technical pieces of service, the central reference bureau, the clearing house of all applications for charity, had been taken over by the city—for the sole reason so far as I could see, that the men who had been supporting it would no longer do so. Yet in three years the number of cases reported to the central agency had doubled; the chances of duplication of relief service had been taken care of just to that extent, solely because the questions arose as to whether the men who had once been putting their money in this form of service would continue to do so, and whether undue duplication was not occurring with the work done privately. There we have an illustration of the public realizing that private resources were not meeting their need and at the same time of private resources feeling overburdened. The anti-tuberculosis movement is another case of both excessive burden on private resources and the feeling by the public of unmet needs. Both parties suddenly woke up to the fact that the death rates were not being decreased, and suddenly we found that this activity of a private welfare society was being assumed by the public. And well might it be, with very little theorizing, for in the city of Chicago within the five years that the tuberculosis work has been under the city rather than under private auspices there has been this kind of increase of service rendered: The first figure in each case is for the private agency and the second figure for the public. New patients, instead of 4,000, 14,000; of positive diagnosis, instead of 1,800, 6,600; dispensary visits increased from 23,000 to 70,000; nurses' visits to homes from 20,000 to 76,000; free beds from 10 to 650. Nothing but a practical situation. There was no theorizing about it; and so it is going to be. We will find in the answer to this question, "Shall the public take over private welfare activities," that the public will take them over when a preponderating weight of public opinion feels an unmet need and so makes the transfer advisable. Preponderating weight does not always mean majorities of persons, sometimes only the majority of the forces effective in creating voting majorities. But when the public refuses to have the burdens borne privately, we may be quite sure that they are going to be taken over, whether they are according to our theories or not. There seem to me to be two principles that have been followed—sometimes one and sometimes the other—sometimes a mixture of both: The people see something they need and they take it. Or the private agency feels it has borne something long enough and will get rid of it. If you will study the very rapid growth

of welfare activities on the part of our public agencies you will find no other common principles underlying it. Yet, on this very practical basis, there has been the most astonishing increase. Just note the list of what public agencies are now doing in the welfare field: They are giving family relief and seeking to restore the family to independence; they are granting mothers' pensions; they are conducting visiting nursing; the anti-tuberculosis fight has been mentioned; infant hygiene and milk distribution bureau; public chaperones; municipal social settlement work; public dance halls and kindergartens; manual and vocational training; employment bureaus; insurance and savings organizations; social research; provident loans; legal aid; fixing of working hours and wages. And every one of these activities has been assumed within the last fifteen years by some public agency. Surely, not because society has set to philosophizing, but because practical questions had to be met. And that process is going on in some places more slowly, and in others more rapidly, but we may be perfectly sure that that course which has perhaps been going on more in our western cities will start in the East, and such things will take place.

I can hear some objections offered that it is a great pity to dam up and give no outlet to the plenteous resources of private philanthropy. If this assumption of the welfare activities by the public were to have that result, surely it would be regretted. But there is no such sequence necessary, nor is it taking place. There are still new complications, new social situations, enough to take care of all our private thought and money.

Just let me give you an illustration from a single agency in Detroit that has put over on the city practically all of its relief-giving in the last three years. Let us see what it has still on its hands. In the first place, there are always a few extra critical cases of distress or a few non-residents in the city that evidently cannot be cared for by the necessarily legalistic public charity. For these a private agency will have to care. But this Detroit agency in addition to doing that has established a new department of visiting housekeepers, women skilled in domestic science and in care of families, whose business it is to give domestic science lessons in the homes of those who have not learned to keep house, and who wish to make the most of the family income.

Then, again, this agency has tackled a problem sufficient for the resources of any private philanthropy. They are trying to do something about the discrimination against the negro in both housing and employment. Let me submit to you that as long as such situations continue, the private agencies will not be out of a job.

A fourth thing this agency has found to do in spite of giving up what has been considered its traditional activity. It is quite necessary after a public agency has taken over private welfare work that there be on the part of the interested citizens a very careful study of the kind of work the

public agency is doing, and so this old associated charities of Detroit gets a report of every case that comes into the public registration bureau three times from one or more agencies. These "trouble" cases are looked into. The first thing done is to see whether the agencies helping such families are working in an adequate and efficient manner. They are asking whether the agencies of the city are so organized and so aligned as to be most effective, or whether reorganization or, perhaps, disorganization of some society, would make the situation more useful to those who need the services.

But this new activity goes behind the need of the helpful service. Its staff is also studying the causes of these mishaps; these breakdowns in some life; is going into industrial conditions, into physical, into governmental, to find out what the real causes of poverty are, and then urging upon the community the setting up of the pieces of machinery that are necessary to prevent poverty. When the community realizes the value of this new private welfare activity, the community in its turn will take over this research department, and Mrs. Simkhovitch's wish, which we all share, will be realized there. This last activity of the Detroit associated charities perhaps indicates the biggest field for private welfare societies, after their original work has been assumed by the municipality.

We are likely to think of government in a good deal the way that the old German did about a clock he bought. He went into a store to buy a clock, and he asked the clerk how often he would have to wind the clock that he had selected, and the clerk told him it would run seven days without winding. "Then," said the German, "how long will it run if I do wind it?"

We have thought that the government was somewhat automatic, and that it would run itself. When the playgrounds were assumed by the officials of Chicago, those formerly conducting them did not sit down, fold their hands and say, "Our work is done." They organized themselves into a playground association for the purpose of acquainting the community with the good done by these playgrounds, and for the purpose of suggesting ways in which the playgrounds could be made still more useful. In other words, they considered that this public activity would be successful only as the public showed their interest and attention to what the public servants were undertaking. The success of the public playgrounds of Chicago has been due in large part to these private agencies and to persons who have found this new outlet, and who, with careful persistence, guard and promote and develop the activity which has been taken over. Right in the same city the need of continuance of just this sort of private welfare activity was illustrated in the last great civic tragedy—the death of Doctor Sachs, head of the tuberculosis sanatorium. When the city took over that institution, many thought their work was done. Because public attention was diverted to some other problem, the tuberculosis sanatorium became involved in politics and

led to the loss of that most valuable public servant. So do not despair as to the need and urgency for private welfare activity, be the public never so forward in assuming those pieces of work which we have so fondly cherished.

There is still one more objection that I can see in the faces of some of you: Your reformer is oftentimes a man so enthusiastic about his program of public welfare that he has forgotten that there is a financial consideration.

The committee suggested that I do no more than touch on this, because the subsequent paper was to deal with the question of municipal expenditure. I shall only mention this point. I wish our presiding officer to-night might repeat his very full and fundamental treatment given to this question of the financing of public welfare activities at the last National Conference of Charities and Corrections. Just let me state briefly what he said.

Mr. Purdy stated that the modern patriot of our day is thought to be the man who brings a new citizen to a community. We consider him a patriot because every citizen who comes to a community adds one thousand dollars of value to the real estate value of the city. "Now, if the booster of the town is such a patriot, by dint of adding to the wealth of the community," said Mr. Purdy, "why haven't these welfare activities just as good a right to high approval? Are not residents attracted or held by a good school system, by an adequate playground plan, and beautiful parks just as big assets as those secured by city boosters? Are not the welfare activities that are securing these new residents or saving lives adding just as really to the wealth of the community?" If the welfare activities of the community thus create wealth, why should we hesitate to finance these welfare activities from the resources which they create? Just as surely as the community when it has felt its need, hastens to provide for welfare activity, so surely will the community thus creating wealth take this wealth to conduct the necessary public welfare activities.

CHICAGO'S GREAT OBJECT LESSONS

BY VICTOR S. YARROS

Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy

I. THE POLICE PROBLEM

PROBABLY but little surprise was excited in educated circles by the recent police disclosures and "graft" scandals in Chicago. In the last several years very high police officials, including the head of the detective bureau, have been indicted, tried, convicted and sentenced to penitentiary terms for the crimes of blackmail and graft. We have come to expect an annual or semi-annual clean-up campaign of this sort, and we take it for granted—and quite rightly—that no permanent or lasting benefit can result from such campaigns. To see official crooks and civic traitors sent to prison satisfies one's primitive sense of justice, and, in addition, one feels that perhaps, for a time, such a consummation may put "the fear of God" into the breasts of the most hardened and cynical of our criminals in uniform. But, of course, there is a fundamental police problem, and the question is whether the majority of Chicago's citizens—her more intelligent citizens even—have grasped this problem and know where, and in what, its solution lies.

As a matter of fact, Chicago's painful experience has practically demonstrated the soundness of the solution proposed by scientific thinkers and based on European as well as limited American experience. The object lesson has been furnished, though it has not been driven home.

The sources of police corruption, here as in other of our cities, are mainly these: The social evil, professional gambling, and the lawless saloon. Mayor Thompson, either through ignorance and folly, or because of political ambition and hypocrisy, aggravated the saloon situation by his order "to enforce the state law against Sunday closing" regardless of local sentiment and of custom, tradition and precedent. The order has never been impartially enforced; powerful spoils politicians and others have treated it with indifference or contempt. The order became a prolific source of favoritism, cheap politics, corruption and gross unfairness. Many saloon-keepers sought and obtained "protection." This protection had to be purchased. Saloon-keepers sans pull resented the injustice and decided to "take a chance." Police officials, seeing and knowing that the anti-Sunday saloon was largely a farce, used their own discretion—corruptly or otherwise. "Passing the buck" became a favorite practice. The honest police captain had every reason to fear

¹ See article entitled "The Liquor Question and Municipal Reform," by George C. Sikes, NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. v, p. 411.

that if he took the mayor's public protestations seriously and "enforced the law" strictly, influential politicians of the mayor's faction or brand would "get him" on false charges. The dishonest and crafty captain knew that he was comparatively safe so long as he was backed by the "right people."

This is the situation to-day. There has been no substantial change. The indictment and forced resignation of Chief of Police Healey and several subordinates were followed by the appointment of a new chief and a new "first deputy chief" who are generally believed to be honest and tolerably independent. The anti-Sunday saloon law is now enforced by them with reasonable impartiality. Perhaps the captains and other subordinates are "lying low" and pursuing a policy of watchful waiting. But violations of the law continue; arrests are made every Sunday; many saloon-keepers refuse to take the new policy seriously, and the mayor's various activities and utterances have not been of a character to inspire either confidence or respect. In a few weeks, or months, the collection of tribute is sure to be resumed. The temptation has not been removed; the opportunities for "pickings" are as ample as ever. It is not in police nature to ignore such opportunities.

The Sunday saloon question can be settled, and should be settled, by applying the local option principle in this sphere. Chicago ought to have the legal right to vote the Sunday saloon in or out; more, the several districts or wards of the city ought to have local option with regard to the question. It is idle and unintelligent to expect the newcomers from Italy, Greece, Bohemia, Hungary, Russia, to share the view which the native-born of Puritan descent, for example, take of the Sunday saloon. Where there is no real agreement, or like-mindedness, the law should, so far as possible, recognize honest, deep-rooted differences and conform to them. District local option is accepted by Prohibitionists when the anticipated result favors their policy; it should be as cheerfully accepted by them, and by all true believers on democracy, when the result is likely to be unfavorable to them. District option as to the Sunday saloon would in time eliminate police blackmail and corruption. Nothing else can—not even under an enlightened and incorruptible mayor.

Professional gambling and prostitution, manifestly, are not amenable to local option. They are bound to remain sources of police corruption and criminality. But they need not remain rich and easy sources of corruption. An honest and high-minded mayor, assisted by a vigorous and honest chief of police, and by competent and fit subordinates, would have no very great difficulty—although considerable difficulty—in dealing with professional gamblers and brothels. Consistency, uniformity and reasonableness—these are the desiderata in policy, these the conditions of successful warfare on policemen and politicians who victimize unfortunate women and protect or license gamblers.

In Chicago, the mayor appoints the chief of police. All subordinates are supposed to be under a merit system. Unfortunately, the appointment of chiefs has been governed by politics, by caprice, by anything but the proper considerations. Our chief has no security of tenure; he may be dismissed at any time—or forced to resign, which is the same thing—for any reason—good, bad or indifferent. Our chiefs have had to study the mayor's moods, words, intonations. They have had two sets of orders, one for public consumption, the other for private. A genuine merit system, the right kind of examinations, higher standards for applicants, sufficient training and discipline after appointment, are among the elements of police reform. We cannot have these elements unless we first secure a first-rate mayor and get from him a first-rate merit commission. In Chicago we have a notorious humbug in the mayor's chair and a grotesquely unfit "merit" commission—a commission which has been aptly called by the municipal voters' league "a wrecking crew." Of late its performances have been less reckless, but there is little consolation in this fact. The state's attorney and the grand jury, to repeat, have put "the fear of God" into certain hearts, and public indignation has counseled a measure of discretion.

To sum it all up, the solution of Chicago's police problem lies in a modern charter, home rule, district option wherever applicable, a sound merit system and a strong, fit and fearless civil service commission. A fit mayor could do something even under existing conditions—Mayor Mitchel has done something in New York—but we should think of permanent remedies and facilitate the tasks of good officials—at the same time hampering and shackling poor officials—by devising and installing better governmental machinery and more modern methods.

There is nothing new in all this, but Chicago has emphasized the soundness of it in a dramatic and impressive way.

II. THE MAYOR VS. THE COUNCIL

In the foregoing the existence and importance of the mayor had to be assumed. But Chicago has been led to ask herself another question—Why a mayor at all?

Chicago, as has been stated many times, is "council-governed." Not many appreciate the full significance of this statement. The Chicago city council enjoys real power, and there is no tendency to weaken it. On the contrary, the tendency is to increase the council's power and influence. The legislature unwisely attempted to deprive it of the power to regulate public utilities, but we expect this false step to be retraced. Public sentiment is for home rule even as regards the regulation of public utilities. Governor Lowden is committed to this principle, and so are the present leaders in the legislature.

If, then, the city is governed by its council, why the mayor with his veto, his spoils, his extra-legal and political influence, his machine? Why, having maintained council government in spite of reaction elsewhere, and having succeeded in reclaiming and elevating her council to such an extent that to-day it is a safe instrument of rational reform even at its weakest, why should not Chicago boldly take a stride forward and abolish the mayor? That is, why should not a new charter be framed and submitted to the people, and why should not this new charter provide for a city manager subject to the council instead for a mayor? Why stick to the federal plan and invite friction, waste, inefficiency?

This general question is up in Chicago. Mayor Thompson, by his blunders and offences, has made it vital and acute. Intelligent men in and out of the city council are answering it in the right way. The mayor, with us, is a fifth wheel. He is neither useful nor ornamental. Give the city a strong merit system, a city manager, a scientific budget, and the mayor becomes a superfluity, if not a nuisance.

Mayor Thompson has ventured to do things which abler and more sensible mayors shrank from. He has challenged the council. He and his appointees have waged war against it. He has traduced and misrepresented many of its members. He has fought them brazenly at the polls. His machine has fought good aldermen in obedience to his wishes. The mayor has defeated a few of his opponents and critics at the primaries or elections. Cant, misrepresentation and abuse have not been employed in vain in local politics. Still, on the whole, our council has defeated the mayor and defeated him badly. He is utterly discredited. The press rails at him, the courts have overruled the decisions of his tools, the progressive and decent citizens know that he is a complete failure as mayor. His ignorance and indolence are proverbial.

It is natural enough that in these circumstances the proposal to do away with the mayor should attract warm support in various quarters. But do not hard cases make bad law? Has not Chicago known good mayors and poor, untrustworthy councils? Did not Mayor Harrison fight Yerkes, the franchise-grabber, at a time when the council and the press almost approved a piratical franchise policy? Do we not owe many reforms to our late executives? May we not need executive vetoes in the future as we needed them in the past?

The answer is that whatever the mayor and his veto power may have done for clean government in the past, to-day and for some recent years the friction between the mayor and the council has proved a very serious obstacle to good government and honest municipal politics. The council has been greatly improved; the aldermanic office, in spite of the letter of the law, has been made non-partisan in the eyes of the intelligent voters. Steals and corrupt deals have become impossible in our council. If the council is not as strong intellectually as it should be, this fact is largely

attributable to the mayoral factor, to efforts of the executive to control the council, to use it. The mayor's machine regards every able and independent alderman as an enemy and secretly, if not openly, seeks to defeat him at the polls. False issues are raised by the mayor and his machine for this purpose. The average voter is apt to become confused—especially if the mayor happens to possess the gift of buncombe.

Where the mayor is strong, a fusion movement is necessary to take his office out of partisan politics. Where the council governs, as in Chicago, public attention is properly fastened on the council. To expect two successful movements at the same time—one to elevate the council and another to insure the election of fit and non-partisan mayors—in the same city is to expect the improbable. It is certainly significant that in Chicago there is not even the faintest sign of a fusion or non-partisan movement with regard to the mayoralty. We have our hands full taking care of the council and preventing deterioration.

We are not likely to get a much abler and stronger council until we make up our minds that one governing body is enough, and that the mayor can and should be dispensed with in favor of an efficient city manager and expert administration.

Students of government in our big and heterogeneous cities will find it profitable to watch the developments in Chicago on the question of non-partisan councils versus partisan and spoils mayors.

EDITORIAL

THE LEAGUE BROADENS ITS FIELD

Our Springfield meeting is likely to be chiefly remembered for having inaugurated the movement to extend the League's activities to include the improvement of county and state government. The discussion of the proposals will be found in the January issue (pp. 183-191). After a careful survey of the field and a consideration of the questions involved, the following resolution prepared by President Purdy and Vice-president Childs was unanimously adopted:

WHEREAS, municipal progress is reaching the point where it is increasingly embarrassed by the relative backwardness of state and county government,

Resolved, that the League shall hereafter devote such time and attention as may be practicable to the problems of county and state government and that efforts be made to raise additional funds to meet the expenses of the proposed broadening of the League's activities.

A letter setting forth the above facts and others relating to the proposed development of the League's activities was sent to all the members of the League on January 29. The response has been cordial and hearty.

Beginning with this issue the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW will be published bi-monthly instead of quarterly. This action is a part of the policy of development inaugurated at Springfield and authorized by the executive committee at its meeting of December 28, 1916. This will bring the magazine into closer and more frequent touch with the members and subscribers, and will increase its effectiveness as an interpreter of current municipal events and as an organ of sound public opinion on governmental problems.

A further step in this development has been the appointment of C. O. Dustin as assistant secretary. Until March 15, Mr. Dustin was the director of the Springfield, Mass., bureau of municipal research. His work in that connection and with the annual meeting in November last is well known. On April 1 he will enter upon his duties, which will include the development of the financial and publicity sides of the League's work and arranging for a larger co-operation with other organizations working in the same field, and in preparing for the annual meeting in November. The secretary of the National Municipal League bespeaks the hearty co-operation of the members with Mr. Dustin.

The present issue of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW will be designated as the March number, and the remaining issues will appear on May 1, July 1, September 1 and November 1. The number of pages in each

issue will be smaller, but the total for the year will be the same as heretofore. This change may necessitate the rearrangement of some of the departments, but the inconvenience, if any, will be of a temporary character.¹

¹ By reason of the conversion of the REVIEW from a quarterly into a bi-monthly, the publication of the following papers which we had planned to include in the next issue will be carried over to the May issue: "The Building Zone Plan of New York City," Robert H. Whitten; "Methods of Financing City Planning Projects," Nelson P. Lewis; "City Planning and Political Areas," George E. Hooker; "What Has Been Accomplished in City Planning During 1916," George B. Ford; "City Planning Progress—Discussion at the Springfield Meeting." Among the other articles which will have to be carried over under this arrangement is one by Dr. Delos F. Wilcox on "Experts, Ethics and Public Policy," and another by Frederic Rex of Chicago analyzing the measures relating to municipal administration and legislation submitted at the November election.

NOTES AND EVENTS

I. GOVERNMENT AND ADMINISTRATION

Charter Revision in Philadelphia.—In the summer of 1916 a committee was appointed to consider the revision of the Bullitt bill under which Philadelphia has been operating since the first Monday of April, 1887. This committee in turn appointed a sub-committee which late in December submitted a report under eleven heads.

1. The city and county of Philadelphia. That the existing constitutional distinctions between city and county in Philadelphia should be abolished, and the powers of local government vested in a single municipality. This requires an amendment of the constitution.

2. Making certain elective offices appointive. It was recommended that the city solicitor, one of whose functions is to act as legal adviser to the mayor, and the department heads should be appointed by the mayor, and that the receiver of taxes should be appointed by the city treasurer who is the responsible custodian of the city's funds. These changes do not require an amendment of the constitution.

3. Relieving the judiciary of political functions. The committee very strongly urged that the board of judges should be relieved of the appointment of the board of revision of taxes which is essentially an administrative body, and the board of education which now is a body charged with the duty of determining important questions of policy and wielding the taxing powers but answerable to the people only through the judges, whose selection ought to be independent of political policies. It also recommended that the duty of granting licenses had been harmful to the reputation of the bench in the community, and should be transferred to a board of commissioners to be appointed by the governor or mayor with overlapping terms.

4. Organization of councils. A re-districting of the city providing for 25 wards in place of the 48 was recommended, and a council composed of one representative from each of the new 25 wards suggested in place of the present bicameral system. A salary of \$2,500 with an additional \$2,500 to the chairman of the finance committee was recommended.

5. Functions of council. The committee recommended that it should be within the power of councils to determine the methods by which assessments of real estate should be made, and that it should be possible for council to delegate to an executive department minor administrative duties that now devolve upon it.

6. The office of mayor and the executive departments. A rearrangement of some of the functions of existing departments in order that there might be a better and more logical definition of functions was urged.

7. City revenue and borrowing. Under this head sundry questions of finance were considered. Among other things the committee recommended that real estate owned by public service corporations which is not now subject to local taxation should be taxed as other real estate, and that ground rents should be taxed as personalty. The committee was also of the opinion that the present method of collecting the personal property tax is inadequate.

8. Appraisement of real estate for taxation. There should be in the committee's judgment a delegation by the state legislature to the city council of the power of determining the method of arriving at the actual value of real estate and it should be made the duty of the board of revision of taxes to apply the method thus laid down.

9. Control of revenue and appropriations. The committee was of the opinion

that a requirement for an annual submission to council of a co-ordinated budget for action by council at a stated time was essential for the attainment of genuine financial efficiency. By budget was meant an estimate made by a responsible public officer, of proposed expenditures and suggestions for financing them.

10. The city's contracting powers and limitations. The present provisions embodied in the statutes of the state, restricting and limiting the right of the city to exercise discretion as to the terms upon which public work may be done, should be replaced by a provision granting to city council discretion to determine within proper limits the terms and conditions upon which city work may be let by contract or the terms and conditions upon which such work may be performed by the city's employes, without contract, provided, however, that no city contract for services should be for a longer period than five years.

11. Control of elections. The committee believed that the powers and duties of the present registration commissioners could very properly be expanded so as to control elections, certainly to the extent of vesting in it the powers and duties now exercised by the county commissioners. It was also recommended that the board should be given by constitutional amendment the power to appoint the election officers as well as registration officers in the various divisions of the city, and that these offices might advantageously be combined.

*

The San Diego County Charter.—The San Diego (Cal.) county charter was defeated on February 27, but it is an interesting document, for all that. It marks a turning point in the reform of county government when communities as large as this take such advanced positions as the freeholders did at so many points. The charter really "goes the limit" in its acceptance of the county-manager idea, in the extent to which it recognizes the merit principle of civil service and in the spirit which underlies modern public welfare work.

Framed under the home rule provisions of the California constitution, it provided among other things for an enlarged board of supervisors, one each from nine districts—five from San Diego and its suburbs and the remainder from the outlying districts, these supervisors to be elected at large for overlapping terms. The board was to have only legislative powers and the members were not to be compensated for their services beyond the amount of their actual expenses incurred in pursuance of their duties.

The county manager was to be chosen by the supervisors from a list submitted by the civil service commission. He was to be the actual manager of affairs as well as purchasing agent, road commissioner and surveyor. Under these limitations it is obvious that the county manager would have to be a trained engineer. The appointing power of the manager would not have been large, since all of the principal county officers, with the exception of the civil service commission, the board of public welfare, the sheriff and the district attorney would have been appointed by the board of supervisors, but would doubtless have taken politics out of consideration and left the county manager to all intents and purposes the actual master in administration.

In some respects the county manager was given such large powers as to lead one to suspect that the charter framers somewhat misconceived the theory of the commission-manager plan. For instance, the board of supervisors could not increase the number of officers in any department or the items in the annual budget, except with the county manager's consent. This provision, of course, put the chief servant of the board of supervisors in the rather anomalous position of being able, formally, to dictate to his official superiors. Doubtless, however, in practice the situation would have worked itself out without serious difficulty.

In the matter of civil service, the charter took very high ground indeed. The commission consists of three members, one selected by the governor, one by the judges of the superior court and the third by the

board of supervisors. This combination of appointing power should at least have secured independence. Whether or not it would have been a harmonious body is open to some question. All of the principal county officers would have been chosen from lists supplied by this commission.

Incidentally, the proposed new charter, by taking various officers from the ballot and in some cases consolidating two or more, laid the basis for a short ballot county in which the only elective officers were the board of supervisors, the sheriff and the district attorney.

Among other notable provisions of the charter are those which provided for the creation of the office of defender, the institution of a modern audit and purchasing system and the improvement of the judicial township and constable system. A specially constituted board of public welfare consisted of two members appointed by the governor, two by the judges of the superior court, two by the board of supervisors, with the county manager as chairman, ex-officio. This board was charged with the care of the county hospital, county poor farm, the detention home and all indigent and outdoor relief. The executive officer would have been the director of public health and charities, to be appointed by the board from an eligible list supplied by the civil service commission.

The county manager plan is included in the scheme of the city and county government association of Alameda county, Cal., and in the new charter proposed for Napa county. Governor Clark of Iowa twice, during his term, recommended county managers for that state. The adoption of the county-manager law is also part of the program of the county government association of New York state.

H. S. GILBERTSON.

*

Commission Government in Buffalo.—Commission government has just finished its first year of existence in this city and, in the opinion of most unprejudiced observers, has made good in several definite respects.

The franchise and referendum clauses of the charter were used with good effect at the last general election without friction or extra expense. The questions on the ballot received a reasonable attention on the part of the voter and the vote apparently was satisfactory to the majority. This use of the popular feature has begun to educate our people to a more careful consideration of public questions and to an appreciation of their duties as citizens.

Very definite improvement is seen in the police force, which is much more responsive to public demands than under the old charter. Much less criticism is heard of the chief, who is an appointee of the present government, than of his predecessor.

The health department has undertaken and is carrying out a progressive development in the shape of the establishment of four health centers located in sections of the city where the attention of the health department is most needed. These health centers extend the functions of the health department directly to the spots requiring attention and as each health center is in charge of a health physician giving his entire time to the work, it correlates other health activities such as babies' milk dispensaries, tuberculosis clinics, and all the regular activities of the health department. The result has been most beneficial to the poorer element of the population.

Education has received a new impetus by the appointment of an excellent board of education by the mayor. The work of this board is hampered by a division of responsibility between itself and the commissioner of public affairs. An effort is being made to correct this weakness in the charter by an amendment now before the legislature which will give the entire administrative control to the board but will leave the appointment of the board itself and the control of its budget in the hands of the commission. Discussion of this necessary change is arousing the interested attention of the citizens at the present time.

The administration of the parks has been much improved in the direction of

developing their use for the public by the addition of many baseball diamonds, tennis courts, skating rinks, toboggan slides, etc.

In the department of finance and accounts the commissioner has, by his careful and scientific survey of the situation, raised the assessed valuation over two hundred million dollars. A large part of this increase has been obtained by the inclusion of the machinery in factories as real property, under a recent decision of the court, by an increase in the valuation of public service corporation property and of the larger industrial establishments. The attempt has been made to distribute fairly the burden of taxes, and that it has been reasonably successful is shown by the fact that there have been very few protests. This will reduce the rate of taxation considerably and in this way relieve the small taxpayer of a burden which has been growing too heavy for him to carry.

As a whole the tendency of this commission is to spend money rather than to save it but at the same time their efforts have been in the direction of a more democratic distribution of the benefits of the city government than heretofore.

KNOWLTON MIXER.¹

Buffalo.

✱

An Engineer's View of Commission Government.—During this time (since the adoption of commission government in Galveston), certain defects have been found in the system. In the commission plan providing for three or five commissioners, each commissioner is head of a department and there is apt to be continuous friction between the departments. The commission plan gives one commissioner as much power as another, and the commission has no power to remove or discipline one of their number. Quite frequently, one commissioner resents interference from the other commissioners, thus giving the city three or five separate little governments.

While the commission plan got rid of ward log-rolling, it substitutes department

log-rolling. A commissioner in order to get his own way in his own department, has to swap votes with and not criticize the other commissioners' budget, which does not tend toward economy.

The commission plan presupposes that commissioners will be elected who have had much experience in the handling of men and the directing of their labors. If only such men are elected, however, much of the population is not represented by men in their own class or walk of life, and usually we find that there are men elected to the commission not because of their special fitness, but because they are good fellows and have a large acquaintance-ship among the population who deliver the vote.

The commission plan ignores experience or the value of experience, as the commissioners are frequently elected for only one term, and, therefore, do not hold office long enough to learn the job. With such an insecure tenure of office, it does not seem worth while for a commissioner to study the problems connected with his department, nor is he likely to give his whole mind to the completion of projects started by his predecessor.²

✱

Portsmouth, Va.—T. B. Shertzer of New York city has been appointed the first city manager of Portsmouth. When the position was created the council received 157 applications. The salary of the city manager has been fixed at \$4,000 a year. Mr. Shertzer was at the time of his appointment a constructive engineer with the Texas company at Bayonne, N. J., and he has also had experience on the New York subway and with the New York water supply and public service commissions.

✱

Bristol's Town Manager.—Bristol is the largest urban community in Bucks County, Pa. It is trying an experiment, having appointed under a three years' contract a town manager at a salary of \$2,000 a year. It will be his duty to conduct the affairs of this center "under

¹ A member of the council of the National Municipal League.

² From an address by Henry Gerhartz, U. S. surveyor-general for Montana.

a purely business administration and to get the highest point of efficiency in administration." The appointee is John Roberts.

✱

"Firing" Engineers in Boston.—If it was intended to demoralize the department of public works in a large city, what better course could be taken than to "fire" some seventeen of its best and most experienced civil engineers because they had not been active in re-electing the mayor? The *Engineering News* of January 11 states that that was just what happened in the department of public works for the city of Boston. These men were under civil service rules. One of them, Mr. McInnes (the most valuable engineer in the city's water department), with two others, appealed to the courts and those courts have found that the removals were "without proper cause and in bad faith."

If it were desired to discourage any high-grade professional expert from accepting appointment in the Boston municipal service, what better course could be taken than was taken by the mayor of Boston in removing Lewis K. Roorke, some two years ago? Roorke was by far the best appointment made for a head of any Boston department in the last ten years, being a civil engineer of great ability and large experience.

The National Board of Fire Underwriters' report shows plainly how the installation of the high pressure service has since been delayed and bungled, so that it will be some years before Boston gets the decrease of fire risk it should have been enjoying now.

Mr. Roorke's position was not strictly under civil service rules. By the Boston charter every such appointment has to be submitted to the state civil service commission who must find after "careful inquiry into his qualifications . . . that in their opinion he is a recognized expert, or he is qualified by education, training, or experience for said office." (Notice "or" instead of "and".)

This is but slight protection. It is in the nature of a "pass" examination. The mayor has perfect freedom to appoint

anybody who can "pass," while if the place were under strict civil service rules the mayor would be limited to a choice of one of three, giving very little chance to reward a political worker. There would also be an appeal in case of removal "without cause or in bad faith."

The new system used for seventeen years—of appointing to such high positions through an unassembled competitive investigation of training, education, achievements in life, personality, etc., conducted with the aid of appropriate specialists,—has produced wonderfully good results in hundreds of civil service positions with salaries from \$3,000 to \$10,000. Such a system, if adopted in Boston, would take the heads of departments completely out of politics. It would take contracts also out of politics and would be the best antitoxin for municipal waste and corruption.

RICHARD H. DANA.

✱

The Smoke Nuisance in Chicago.—The Chicago railway terminal commission has gone on record to the effect that it sees no reason why the ordinance to adjust certain matters between the South park commissioners, the city and the New York Central railroad should not provide for the electrification of the suburban service of the railroad within five years of the date of the passage of the ordinance, and the complete electrification of all branches of the service in Chicago within ten years from the passage of the ordinance. Among those signing the report are: Bion J. Arnold, Walter L. Fisher, E. H. Bennett, Frank I. Bennett, commissioner of public works; Morton S. Cressy, assistant corporation counsel; Ellis Geiger, chairman, committee on railway terminals; John F. Wallace, chairman, railway terminal commission.

✱

The Cincinnati Municipal Reference Library.—The library is under the control of the university, the head of the political science department of the University of Cincinnati being in immediate charge.

The city gave the space in the city hall in a room adjoining the council chamber.

Some months ago the mayor decided that "to save expense" the library should be moved from the city hall to Burnet Woods, some three miles from the city hall and heart of the city where its good influence would be entirely negatived. It was shown that the library cost the city nothing in so far as it was a charge not on the city but on the University, an expense of \$1,200 a year.

"Want of space" then became the excuse for the removal of the library as it was claimed this room should be used by the charter commission to be elected April 17. As a matter of fact the space without the library would not be of any real value to the commission as the library proved invaluable to the former charter commission of two years ago.

Numerous civic organizations became active in urging that the library be allowed to remain at the city hall. The board of education adopted a resolution against its removal and stated that it had held sessions there so that it could have at hand information that could be obtained nowhere else. The former charter commission urged that it remain in its present place. In all, nine civic organizations passed resolutions urging the retention of the library at the city hall.

Mayor Puchta then made the rather surprising statement that he had questioned all the department heads and found that, with one exception, none of them used the library.

On January 9 the mayor's ordinance for the removal of the library was unanimously passed, under suspension of the rules, by council.

Just what will be done with the library is at present undecided, although civic organizations have been considering retaining it in the heart of the city. Although the ordinance can exclude it from the city hall, it cannot force the library to go to Burnet Woods since all branches of the university are regulated by state law and are not subject to ordinance of council.

So far as the bureau of research is concerned, the city has a department that is known as the bureau of information and research which does little more than exist

and whose title seems to be rather a misnomer. The former, which has always been active for the betterment of municipal affairs, has found it practically impossible to co-operate with the administration.

HERBERT F. KOCH.¹



The Missouri City Manager League was formed in December at a conference at Excelsior Springs under the leadership of Leslie E. Bates, for the purpose of getting through the legislature an optional city manager bill applying to third class cities, between 3,000 and 30,000 population. The bill may be extended to include other classes of cities.

Missouri cities are also supporting bills for extensive amendments guaranteeing larger powers of home rule in police excise and public utilities matters, and the right of excess condemnation, with the creation of county planning boards and city plan commissions in all cities.



New York Police Records.—The entire system of police records in use in New York has been revised by Police Commissioner Woods. Arrests, accidents and complaints are recorded by patrolmen on the street on loose leaf pocket memorandum forms which have been specially prepared to give pertinent data of each case with a minimum amount of writing. Formerly the patrolmen wrote these reports on scraps of paper or in their personal pocket memorandum books.

In the station house the data of arrests, accidents and complaints are transferred to cards under the direction of the lieutenant instead of being entered in books. Each precinct sends its cards to the district inspector daily to be collected by a messenger in an automobile and taken to headquarters where the data from an average of 2,000 cards received daily are transferred to punched Hollerith tabulating cards. By means of this system all police activities are recorded and classified with a minimum of clerical labor and the department has a complete record of every case available at any time.

LEONHARD FELIX FULD.

¹ Executive secretary, Cincinnati city club.

II. POLITICS¹

Atlanta's New Mayor.—Asa G. Candler, the multi-millionaire manufacturer of coca-cola, began his term as mayor of Atlanta, Georgia, January 1. He was nominated in the primary in August, 1916, over a single opposing candidate by a vote of two to one. Prior to his entry into the race, three candidates, all of whom were identified with the existing political pot-pourri, had announced their candidacy. They were all regarded as good men, but by virtue of their connection with city politics they had a drab color to the popular view, and the general attitude towards the race was characterized by indifference and a feeling that there was no use trying to secure any effective improvement in the city's administration; but two of the candidates withdrew from the race in favor of Mr. Candler, who was induced against his personal wishes to make the fight because he recognized the baleful effects upon the city's welfare which citizen indifference were causing. Mr. Candler is said by local correspondents to be a deeply religious man "whose spiritual nature has found expression in regular church activity and generous gifts to many good causes, including a million and a quarter dollars to Emory University. He could not resist the call to service when a group of citizens faced him with the public demand for it. His liberality is widely appreciated and his honesty and sound sense widely trusted. He seemed the only man in the city who combined the power to win the election and to bring the people together in a government for public welfare."

After his election in the primary a street car strike took place and a new source of division arose. Mr. Candler's participation in the efforts to preserve order caused an independent candidate to come out against him. This candidate did not receive even a solid labor vote, and Mr. Candler began his administration as the "people's mayor."

There is already a different public attitude towards the city government. Cooperation between different departments and between citizens and civic organizations with public officials is becoming more and more apparent.

Mr. Candler went into office on no other platform than that of his personality. He made no extravagant promises. In the primary he surprised people with his ability as a campaigner. He took his audiences into his confidence. He would give vent to statements like this: "They say I don't know anything about city government. When they proposed to make me president of the Central bank, Gene Black said I didn't know anything about banking, but I told Gene I could learn about banking and I guess some of you know that I can tell when it is safe to lend a fellow money. I can learn about city government, too, without having to unlearn a lot of things some other fellows know to your sorrow."

"There is every reason to believe" our correspondent writes, "that Mr. Candler has learned and is learning, and that he recognizes the handicaps of inflexible tax laws and an obsolete charter. Doubtless he feels that he must make the people also recognize these handicaps before he can speak freely, and that in order to open their eyes and unify opinion for changes which must come if his administration is to be genuinely successful, a fact basis must be laid through research and appraisal."

"Mr. Candler is a big man whose money has not dulled his sympathy for the little things which make up life for the average human being. He is approachable and cordial in manner. He is decisive without being overbearing; quick but sure of judgment. He is outspoken without a trace of bitterness. An incident which throws much light upon him occurred recently when Harry Gardiner, 'the human fly,' sought permission to climb his skyscraper. There was some question in the mind of the manager of the building

¹ Unless otherwise indicated the items in this department are prepared by Clinton Rogers Woodruff.

as to legal liability in case Gardiner should fall in the course of his climb. They took the matter to Mr. Candler's lawyer who advised that they submit it to Mr. Candler himself. So Gardiner and the manager and the lawyer went down to his office and explained how Gardiner wanted to climb the building, and that there might be some accident and liability. 'Well,' said Mr. Candler 'I always decide against a fool.' They all laughed and Gardiner went in search of another skyscraper."

✱

The Completed Vindication of A. Leo Weil.—A special grand jury of the intermediate court of Kanawha county, West Virginia, in January, 1915, returned four indictments against A. Leo Weil, the purpose being to cover different phases of the same alleged offence.¹ The circuit court of the county granted a writ of prohibition which, upon hearing, was made permanent, prohibiting the intermediate court from further proceeding in any way with the cases. The state appealed from this decision to the supreme court of appeals of West Virginia, and the circuit court was reversed. From the decision of the state supreme court, the defendant was granted an appeal to the supreme court of the United States where the case is now pending. The criminal charges against the defendant grew out of the rate case of the Manufacturers Light & Heat company against the public service commission, involving the fixing of gas rates for industrial and domestic consumers throughout a large section of the northern part of the state. The rate case a short time ago was amicably adjusted, and the suits involving the several phases of it pending in the federal courts were dismissed.

In the formal statement the prosecuting attorney, who had prepared the indictment said:

As a result of the investigations which I made while prosecuting attorney of the county and recent developments in connection with the criminal charges, which

satisfied me that there was not sufficient evidence to justify the state in bringing Mr. Weil to trial, I became and am convinced that it was impossible to secure a conviction. The criminal charges have already cost the state much money, and to proceed further with this case upon the indictments would involve the further expenditure of large sums. Being familiar with these cases in every detail, and convinced as I am that a conviction could not be secured, it would be abortive to proceed further. The present prosecuting attorney of this county, with the consent of the court, has signified his willingness to *nolle pros* the indictments pending against the defendant upon this recommendation from me, and with the further assurance that this action is satisfactory to all parties interested in the prosecution.

The following is a statement made by the present prosecuting attorney:

The Weil indictments were pending when I went into office as prosecuting attorney, and upon investigations of the contemplated procedure, theretofore undertaken by the state, and the evidence upon which it relied to secure a trial and conviction, I became convinced of three things:

First: The state could not secure a conviction for the alleged offence under its circumstances.

Second: That no offence in fact had been committed.

Third: That if trial and conviction were to be based alone upon the statements of such witnesses as one Guy Biddinger, upon whose evidence the state's case was predicated, and who is now under numerous indictments in Illinois, Kanawha county for the next four years would have a minimum of criminal court work.

In the first two, I have been borne out by the statement of Mr. Townsend, former prosecutor, who was originally in charge of the case and who in view of his statements should have taken this step himself.

It is my hope and desire to prosecute violations of the law as contemplated by the statute of this state, but to make such prosecutions justly. I am convinced of the injustice that has been done in this matter, and don't hesitate to remedy it to the extent of my ability.

This is my answer to those who seek prosecutions for political purposes in Kanawha county throughout the next four years.

¹ See article on "The Vindication of A. Leo Weil," NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. iv, p. 453.

The Interesting Experience of Paducah, Ky.—On January 1, 1916, five men took office, four as commissioners, one as mayor. A suit was immediately filed against four of them, alleging fraudulent election, and in June the court of appeals ordered them "ousted." The question then arose, who had the power to fill vacancies. The governor jumped into the breach and appointed two of those who had been ousted, and two others; the remaining commissioner, against whom no suit has been filed (who simply sat still in the boat), then appointed four commissioners to fill the vacancies. The two of those ousted who were not reappointed by either the governor or the hold-over commissioner, refused to vacate, until the court of appeals decided the governor had the power to appoint, and all the others stepped down and out. The appointments were to hold until November, when another election was held. At that time, about November 10, four entirely new commis-

sioners were declared elected to sit with Mr. Washington. No sooner had this board qualified than suit was filed under a new "corrupt practices act" against the four new men. This suit is now pending, but it is believed that the present incumbents will have to step out.

It has been suggested by representative citizens that when the time came for the next regular election (the men being elected only for the year November, 1916, to November, 1917) they would endeavor to secure four or five (as the case may require) men of unimpeachable character, and good business ability, to run for office, and every endeavor would be made to have them elected, and that these men pool their salaries and hire a city manager. The great difficulty now is that the salary (\$3,000) is too much for the type of men who run for office, and it would be hazardous to make the salary more, until the people are sufficiently aroused to demand the best men for office.

III. JUDICIAL DECISIONS

An Important Billboard Decision.—On January 15, 1917, the supreme court of the United States¹ affirmed the decision of the Illinois supreme court² which sustained a Chicago ordinance provision prohibiting the erection of billboards in any residence block without the consent of the owners of a "majority of the frontage of the property on both sides of the street in the block." Following the line of reasoning pursued by the Illinois court, the highest court of the land did not base its decision upon æsthetic considerations. The prohibition involved in the ordinance was justified wholly upon the ground that it was "in the interest of the safety, morality, health, and decency of the community." Referring to the evidence in respect to insufficient fire and police protection in residence districts, which the Illinois court held to have been erroneously excluded at the trial, the United States court declared broadly that even if this testimony were neglected there remained

sufficient evidence to show the propriety of the prohibition in question.

In spite of the grounds upon which the decision was reached, this case will naturally be acclaimed with joy by all those who are interested in furthering the cause of municipal æsthetics. The court evidently did not deem it necessary to discuss the question whether these usual subjects of the police power—the public safety, morality, health, and decency—could have been adequately protected by regulation falling short of actual prohibition. The requirement that billboards should be constructed of fireproof materials, without obstructive supports, and with sufficient clearance above the ground to prevent the harboring of lawbreakers and immoral persons or the collection of inflammable rubbish or filth would doubtless have accomplished every one of the specific public purposes mentioned. But the court elected, without considering these details, to rest its decision upon the broad grounds indicated.

¹ *Thomas Cusack Co. v. City of Chicago*.

² NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. iv, p. 312.

There is no question, moreover, that the case sustains the rule that billboards may be absolutely prohibited, at least in residence districts; for it was pointed out that the provision allowing the erection of billboards with the consent of property owners was in the nature of a *concession* to the billboard interests. The prohibition could have been made absolute. The claim, therefore, that the ordinance was impaired by this provision was "palpably frivolous."¹

Although the point was not stressed, this case must be taken to sustain the competence of a city to create zones or districts for purposes of billboard exclusion. This would be in line with recent decisions² upholding zoning ordinances enacted for the purpose of excluding more or less offensive trades and industries from residence districts.

HOWARD LEE MCBAIN.

✱

City Manager Charter.—In *Kopczynski v. Schriber*,³ the validity of the charter of Grand Rapids was attacked partly on the ground that after creating the office of mayor it conferred certain powers on the city manager in conflict with those of the mayor. The relator in the case was trying to get a mandamus compelling the city clerk to accept and file his nominating petition for alderman, an office not provided for by the new charter. The court insisted that this was not the proper proceeding in which to test the validity of the new charter, but felt that public policy required that they consider the question. They decided that the charter, in so far as it provided for the election by the council of one of their own number as mayor, did not conflict with the home rule act⁴ requiring the election of a mayor, since the word "election" is not limited in its meaning simply to a vote of the people. They decided that the city charter did not conflict with the constitution and was not invalid in its entirety.

¹The case was distinguished from *Eubank v. Richmond*, 226 U. S. 137, 1912.

²Notably *Hadacheck v. Sebastian*, 239 N. S. 394, 1915.

³161 N. W. 238.

⁴Pub. Acts 1909, no. 279, section 3.

Construction of Municipal Powers.—

In the case of *Stevenson v. Port of Portland*,⁵ the incorporated port of Portland planned to erect bunkers and coal ships in order to meet the competition of Puget Sound ports. The plaintiff sued to prevent the carrying out of the plan. In 1908 the voters had initiated and adopted a measure, attempting to confer this power. The court decided that the port would have to get enabling legislation, although they admitted that the coaling would be incidental to the public purpose for which the port was created.

In *New Orleans v. Shuler*,⁶ it was decided that by a charter giving the city all powers, privileges and functions which pursuant to the constitution could be granted to or exercised by any city, the legislature has delegated to the city the power to license or prohibit placing gasoline storage tanks under sidewalks with the pump at the edge of the walk. The defendant refused to pay the license fee and claimed that the power had not been delegated to the city. The upper court affirmed his conviction of violating the city ordinance.

✱

Home Rule.—In *Loop Lumber Company v. Van Loben Sels*,⁷ it was decided that the statute requiring a contractor for city work, before entering on performance, to give a bond for payment of materials and labor, is inconsistent with the city's freeholder charter, purporting to provide all the conditions precedent for a contractor for city sewer construction proceeding with the work, including the giving of a bond, conditioned, however, only on faithful performance of the contract, and so inapplicable to such work in such city. The California constitution makes the city charter absolutely controlling, and free from impairment by general laws as to all "municipal affairs."

✱

Mandamus - Salaries.—In *People v. Prendergast*,⁸ the New York board of estimate and apportionment was manda-

⁵162 Pacific 509.

⁶73 Southern 715.

⁷159 Pacific 600 (California).

⁸114 N. E. 860.

mused to appropriate salaries for positions established by law and salaries fixed by law. A special statute¹ was held to be an exception to the Greater New York charter. The county register appoints; the board of estimate can only appropriate. This is a splendid example of state interference with local affairs. It shows how difficult budget procedure becomes under such conditions.

✱

Municipal Exemption from Liability for Torts.—There have been decided recently a number of cases in which municipalities have been sued on the ground of negligence in the management of parks and other recreational facilities. In most of them the usual interpretation of no liability for acts of the sovereign in the performance of governmental functions as distinguished from private proprietary or corporate acts has been continued. In *Bolster v. City of Lawrence*,² the Massachusetts supreme court said that though the city makes a small charge for use of its public baths from which it derives a comparatively insignificant income, that does not affect the public character of the baths so as to render the city liable for the torts of its officers in connection therewith. This is the conventional Massachusetts view. In *Robbins v. Omaha*³ the Nebraska court said that although a boy was drowned from a raft in a pool in a public park, the pool and raft did not constitute a nuisance and the city's demurrer was sustained. There was a brief dissenting opinion in which one judge felt that unless it was conclusively shown that the city was performing a governmental function the plaintiff stated a good cause of action. In *Hibbard v. Wichita*⁴ it was decided that maintaining a zoological garden in a public park is a governmental function and that the city is not liable in damages for injuries inflicted by animals on visitors through the negligence of the city's officers or agents in not properly confining them. One judge felt that the

city maintained a nuisance and should be liable. In *Pope v. New Haven*⁵ the court decided that when the city gives a fourth of July celebration with fireworks and a spectator is killed by a bomb failing to explode in the air, the city is not liable because it is engaged in a governmental duty. The city held the celebration under authority of its charter and not for pecuniary profit. It was held in a dangerous place, however, near a crowded street. The court said in passing that if the act had been intrinsically dangerous the city would have been liable. We now come to a case in which the city was held liable, *Kokomo v. Loy*.⁶ Here the employee of park was injured while trying to unload a cannon under the direction of one acting for the park superintendent. The park commissioners were appointed by city councils. The court said that there were two kinds of acts, one, political and governmental, the other, private, proprietary or corporate. Liability depends upon the capacity in which the city was acting at the time. In this case the city was acting in its corporate capacity.

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Municipal Pensions.—Although the Seattle charter⁷ provides that any person in the civil service disabled in the course of his duty shall receive full pay during disability, not to exceed thirty days, and half pay not to exceed six months, the employee will receive this pay though he is injured by a third party in the course of his employment and recovers from the third party. The lower court felt that the pension should be compensatory and not cumulative. The upper court⁸ reversed the decision and the causes were remanded with instructions to enter judgment for the plaintiffs.

✱

Municipal Regulation of Gas Rates.—In *Newark Natural Gas and Fuel Company v. The City of Newark, Ohio*,⁹ the question was whether an ordinance fixing

¹ Laws of 1913, chapter 776.

² 114 N. E. 722.

³ 160 N. W. 749.

⁴ 159 Pacific 399.

⁵ 99 Atlantic 51.

⁶ 112 N. E. 994.

⁷ Article 16, section 32.

⁸ 159 Pacific 816.

⁹ 37 Supreme Court Reporter 156.

the maximum price for natural gas at 20 cents per thousand cubic feet for a period of five years with 10 per cent discount for prompt payment, described as 18 cents "net" is confiscatory and therefore contrary to the due process clause of the fourteenth amendment. The gas company, in this case a distributing company only, operated under a 25-year franchise which permitted a rate of 25 cents for ten years, but the company within the period had reduced the rate to 18 cents net and maintained it for several years before the ordinance of 1911 was passed. The company refused to accept the terms of the ordinance and insisted on a 25 cent

rate. The city filed a petition for a mandatory injunction. The court decreed for the city, but without prejudice to the right of the gas company to apply for a modification if it should appear later that a rate of 18 cents did not render an adequate return. The supreme court of Ohio¹ affirmed the decree. No confiscation was found after full examination of the value of the property. The supreme court of the United States affirmed the decision of the state court, stating that the gas company had failed to show that the ordinance had the effect of depriving it of its property without due process of law.

ROBERT EMMET TRACY.

IV. MISCELLANEOUS

Charitable Transportation in the South.—A year's experience as secretary of a charity organization society in a southern city affords sufficient proof of seriousness of the charitable transportation problem of the south. During 1916 the associated charities of Jacksonville has dealt with 530 homeless men, and never less than seven transient families per month, one month as high as 21, and an average of 14 per month. The experience of other charity organization societies throughout the seven southeastern states is quite similar. For example, during the past fiscal year of its society, Atlanta had 225 homeless men and 89 transient families; Charlotte, N. C., 98 homeless men and 11 transient families; Columbia, S. C., 190 homeless men and transient families. The Jackson, Miss., society worked with 272 homeless men and 19 transient families; while New Orleans had the highest number of homeless men, namely 1,250, and a large number of transient families of which they could give no definite statement as no count had been kept separate from that of the resident families for which they cared. Jacksonville, however, has had to face the problem perhaps more often than any other southern city. It was this fact that led Mayor J. E. T. Bowden to call the first annual convention of the mayors'

association of the South Atlantic and Gulf states, in Jacksonville, January 18, 19 and 20, 1916.

Private organizations have often supplied the method for dealing with certain social problems of public significance, and in this particular case the way had been paved for dealing with this question by a committee on charitable transportation of the National Conference of Charities and Correction. In conjunction with the Russell Sage Foundation this committee has worked out a transportation agreement that has now been signed by over 600 cities and societies throughout the country. By its terms no charity transportation of any form is to be granted until it is definitely established by other means than through the applicant's statements that the applicant will have at the point of destination, such resources as will insure his condition being materially benefited by the change in locality. One of three conditions must be fulfilled before it can be adjudged that the applicant's condition will be bettered: He must have at the point of destination a legal residence, or friends or relatives who will care for him, or a position awaiting him in which he can earn a living.

The purpose of the mayors' convention, as the meeting in Jacksonville came to be called, was stated in these words, "to consider the best methods of handling the

¹92 Ohio State 393.

traveling dependant and to adopt rules and regulations, prohibiting sending such from one city to another." Early in its session a committee brought back a proposed model ordinance which incorporated, word for word, the national transportation agreement, and made it obligatory upon any city, which might subsequently adopt the ordinance, to fulfill the terms of the transportation agreement in the issuance of charity transportation. This was adopted by the convention as the principal feature of its proceedings. A copy of it was sent to every society and charitable organization in Georgia, North and South Carolina, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Florida. Subsequent to the convention, this ordinance was passed by a number of the cities. Exact results are not available, but such cities as have passed it are the larger centers. The vast number of smaller places throughout these states have not as yet taken any definite stand.

The general practice of the railroads has been to issue a straight two cent mile rate on the recommendation of the mayor or some charitable organization in the city from which the transportation is to be secured, to any point lying within the area of the southeastern passenger association. The social results have been very bad indeed. It is actually easier for the dependant to travel from city to city in the south, especially if he is maimed or disabled so that he may become a successful beggar, than it is for him to live in one particular spot. For example, recently a crippled beggar who had lost both of his limbs in an accident, rolled into our office on a wheeled contrivance of his making, and asked for assistance. Upon being interviewed he disclosed the fact that within the past two years he had passed through 102 southern cities, the names of which he remembered, besides others, doubtless, which he had forgotten. In practically all of these cities he had found it possible, after begging a few hours, to secure through someone, cheap rate transportation to the next town.

Bad as the effect of this haphazard way of passing on dependents has been upon

the homeless men, it is much more disastrous, of course, in its effect upon families where there are little children. Some months ago a mother and seven little ones arrived in Jacksonville, having been passed on by a smaller town a little farther down the state. Her story was that they had arrived in the former town penniless, and that kind-hearted people had taken up a collection with which to send them to Jacksonville. The associated charities attempted by every means, so long as their legal residence could not be established anywhere else, to plant them firmly here, but it seemed that for years they had been travelling from one place to another, living in a hand to mouth fashion upon the mistaken generosity of the public, and it was only a few weeks after they came in spite of the fact that they were being assisted materially and otherwise, that between night and morning, the whole family disappeared to go on its wandering, precarious way.

The south is literally full of such families. They have become detached from their own locality and have found that city after city will gladly take up a collection for them, or secure relief from the city officials, sufficient to send them to the next town to avoid making a real investigation, or providing any systematic method by which they can earn or otherwise be furnished a real livelihood.

It was, however, not so much the effect of this haphazard policy upon the homeless men and families themselves that caught the attention of the mayors and social workers who met at the convention, as it was the tremendous expense ultimately involved. The testimony of such societies and cities as have signed the transportation agreement, is that the taking of this step, even without a reciprocal agreement on the part of many other cities, has meant an immediate saving in money. It has been demonstrated that an attempt definitely to plant the transient family in the new community, and to realize its economic and social possibilities is less immediately costly to the city, in the average instance, than the sending of the family on to the next town.

It is impossible to calculate the still greater saving which would result providing all southern cities should adopt the principles of the transportation agreement, and thus, not only protect themselves from the expense of wholesale issuance of charity transportation, but also refrain from burdening sister cities through the passing on of paupers.

A much more rapid method of making progress is that suggested by the action taken by the trunk line passenger association of the east, and the central passenger association, which operates out of Chicago. That taken by the former prohibits railroads from issuing charity transportation except on the recommendation of the society which is a signer of the national transportation agreement. The same principle has been adopted by the central association, only in this case the united charities of Chicago is alone accredited for such issuance. Were the southeastern association to adopt this principle it would materially hasten complete co-operation among the southern cities through the universal signing of the transportation agreement.

The whole question was up before the southeastern association early in 1916, but no definite action was taken. The feeling seemed to be that the granting of transportation only on the basis of signature to the transportation agreement could not be enforced at the present time owing to the small number of such signers throughout the southern states. However, this consideration of the question has paved the way. It may be possible that by working at both ends the difficult situation can some time be met. Meanwhile, among themselves, the charity organization societies of the south are living up to the agreement. Occasionally they are also able to secure control of granting of transportation in their respective cities by securing close co-operation of the city government, even though the cities are not signers of the agreement. This is notably true in New Orleans, and Munroe, Ala. In still other cities, even where the city is a signer, it has been found to be satisfactory to have a private organ-

ization make the investigations and administer transportation under the law. Examples of this are to be found in Jackson, Columbia, and Jacksonville.

This regulation of charity transportation is only one of the first steps in the long struggle which will be necessary before the transient family and the wandering homeless man are made social phenomena of the past. Our loose social organization, the comparatively few opportunities in small towns for proper industrial training and vocational guidance, and many other facts, contribute to the causes which uproot individuals and family groups from localities, and start them wandering about over the country in the hope of securing real or imagined advantages. However, the spirit which is now working so strenuously for the systematic regulation of charity transportation is the spirit which will eventually save us from more fundamental social difficulties.

HOMER W. BORST.¹



The College in Politics.—A rather novel illustration of what a college may do for the cause of good government is found in the recent experiences of Reed College in Portland, Oregon, where the college provided speakers on the initiative and referendum measures in the election of 1916 to sixty audiences reaching perhaps one-fifth of the registered voters.

The ballot presented eleven measures covering a wide range of issues, such as registration of ships, single tax, rural credits, variations of prohibition, anti-vaccination, Sunday closing laws, single item veto, normal schools, and tax limitation. To form an adequate decision on these measures demanded a vast amount of information and research.

The task of spreading this information over the whole city was truly great. It was approached in the following manner: For a month prior to the campaign, five members of the faculty and seventeen students from the departments of politics, sociology, economics and public speaking formed themselves into a group for the purpose of studying the measures. Spe-

¹ Associated charities, Jacksonville, Fla.

cial committees of research were appointed on each measure. The group then met at regular intervals and discussed the measures from various angles. As a result at the end of a month they felt pretty thoroughly prepared to present the measures adequately and to answer the thousands of questions that were sure to come. A publicity agent and manager were appointed by whom circular letters were sent out to the various clubs and organizations of the city offering the services of the college speakers. As a result, during a campaign of six weeks, speakers addressed sixty audiences averaging seventy individuals in the audience. If each individual in the audience on the average discussed the measures with five other individuals, the Reed College speaker probably reached one fifth of the registered voters. This is a conservative estimate, for in Oregon before an election there is a great deal of discussion on the measures between individuals. Furthermore, these meetings covered the area of Portland fairly thoroughly. There were really few individuals in the city who did not live within three quarters of a mile of a place where a meeting was held. The meetings were held in school-houses, churches, settlement houses, community centers, club houses, libraries, fraternity halls, private homes and hotels. Usually three speakers addressed each meeting for perhaps an hour and a quarter. Questions and discussions followed for an hour. The discussions were generally lively and sometimes were a little warm for the speakers, inasmuch as there were partisans or specialists on a particular issue in the audience.

This activity was of very great value for the cause of intelligent voting, as the information was thorough, accurate, unbiased and spread widely. It was also of educational value to the speakers. It is also a precedent showing that a college's activities need not be confined to the classroom and the athletic field, but rather that a college may enter politics and speak on political, social and economic issues.

WILLIAM F. OGBURN.

Reed College.

American Political Science Association and Municipal Government.—At the meetings of the American Political Science Association held at Cincinnati during the last week of December, two sessions were devoted to the discussion of municipal government. At the session of Thursday, December 28, Henry M. Waite, city manager of Dayton, gave an interesting address on "Three Years of Commission-Manager Government" in which he laid particular emphasis on what had been achieved in the humanitarian departments of the Dayton administration; such as promotion of public recreation, interest in music, and the general awakening of civic interest in things worth while. Hon. Henry T. Hunt, former mayor of Cincinnati, read a carefully prepared paper on "The Obstacles to Municipal Progress," in which he dwelt upon the difficulty of transforming civic ideals into concrete realities of administration. Ex-Mayor Hunt's address, which was of a most interesting character, will be published in the *American Political Science Review*.

The foregoing papers were discussed by Dr. Robert C. Brooks of Swarthmore College and by Dr. L. D. Upson of the bureau of governmental research, Detroit. There was a further discussion from the floor in which Professor John A. Fairlie of the University of Illinois, Professor Edgar Dawson of Hunter College and Professor Henry Jones Ford of Princeton University took part.

On Friday, December 29, there was a luncheon conference on "Bureaus of Reference and Research as Aids in the Teaching of Political Science." Professor S. Gale Lowrie of the University of Cincinnati presided. Short addresses were made by Professors Lowrie, F. G. Bates of Indiana University, W. B. Munro of Harvard University, Charles A. Beard of Columbia University and R. T. Crane of the University of Michigan. It came out very plainly in this discussion that the problems confronting a bureau of research in connection with a university were altogether different from those of bureaus maintained for cities either under public or private auspices.

Community Giving.—Gifts in money or in art treasures, reaching a grand total of \$300,000, have been recently presented to the city of Denver by her citizens. When Mayor R. W. Speer re-entered office last May he announced that one of the chief adornments of the civic center should be a Court of Honor to Civic Benefactors, where all gifts of moment would be recorded in stone. This announcement awakened a sense of civic patriotism, of which the gifts that followed were merely the expression.

Mr. J. A. Thatcher, a pioneer banker, gave a \$100,000 fountain, designed by Lorado Taft of Chicago. The heirs of Junius F. Brown, a pioneer merchant, presented paintings valued at \$100,000, which had been collected by the merchant during his lifetime. John C. Shafer of Denver and Chicago, a newspaper proprietor of Denver, presented a \$50,000 painting. Various individuals and business concerns raised \$50,000 for a monster pipe organ in the municipal Auditorium. Another citizen gave \$20,000 for an ornamental entrance to the city park, and still another \$10,000 for an ornamental gateway. One citizen presented \$5,000 for bubble drinking fountains in the business district. And these, apparently, are but the forerunners for greater gifts, for a citizens' committee is now being organized to raise funds for a municipal art gallery on the civic center.

W. F. R. MILLS.¹

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Secretary's Trip.—The secretary of the National Municipal League left Philadelphia on January 23 for a trip which occupied twenty-four days and included visits to Austin, Waco, Fort Worth and Dallas in Texas; Kansas City and St. Joseph, Mo.; Topeka and Lawrence, Kansas; Chicago, Ill.; Milwaukee and LaCrosse, Wis.; Minneapolis, Minn.; Davenport, Iowa City and Des Moines, Iowa.

Most of his 29 addresses were before business bodies, although four state universities were included in his trip: Texas,

¹ Manager of improvements and parks, Denver, Colo.

Kansas, Minnesota and Iowa. The secretary reports a very general interest in the city-manager form of government as embodied in the model city charter of the National Municipal League, also in the subject of city planning as involving preparedness along governmental, material and social lines. Everywhere he found a deep interest in the control of the liquor traffic through prohibition. He further reports a general and enthusiastic response to the recent announcement of the League's determination to take up for constructive consideration the questions of county and state government. While in Topeka he had an extended interview with the governor of Kansas, the Hon. Arthur Capper, a long-time member of the League, who is not only interested in the city-manager form of government, but in the suggestion of a state manager to look after the various state institutions and bureaus.

✱

St. Louis Outer Park and Boulevard System.—The recent approval of a three million dollar road bond issue by St. Louis county, makes possible the development of the outer park and boulevard system advocated since 1907 by the St. Louis civic league. The movement has had a rocky career for nine years, with obstacles thrown in its way by the legislature, the supreme court and city officials. It was once defeated in a popular election, largely because of the feeling that the city would be taxed for the benefit of the county (St. Louis being entirely separate from the county). While the voting of the bonds will not make possible the purchase of the scenic reservations contemplated in the original plan, it will at least provide boulevards and highways connecting the city and suburban towns with the chief scenic areas on the three rivers which bound the county. The county is planning to employ an expert engineer to conceive the plan in the spirit of city planning.

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Instruction of Policemen.—In 1915 Raymond B. Fosdick of New York gave a course of six lectures to the police of

Washington. There were two lectures to sergeants and patrolmen on methods of patrol, use of weapons, methods of supervision, etc., two were devoted to the detectives on matters relating to their department, and two to the higher offices of the department, all illustrated throughout with references to European methods. Mr. Fosdick has been invited by Professor William Bennet Munro of Harvard to deliver the same addresses to the policemen of Cambridge, and especially to consider criminal identification, methods of patrol and supervision, and the scientific detection of crime. This course has been inaugurated at Harvard at the suggestion of Mayor W. D. Rockwood of Cambridge.

Plans for the establishment of a school for policemen and another for firemen of San José, Cal., are being made by City Manager Thomas H. Reed. The courses for the firemen will include lectures by prominent fire chiefs and experts from the coast, and will include administration and practice in climbing, jumping and rescue work and study of the lighting methods. The policemen will be required to make a study of the ordinances of the city and the laws of the state and of the whole penal code, and will also be given a thorough training in first aid work. One of the most important parts of the course will be the study of criminal identification, including finger prints, the Bertillon system and the *modus operandi* of the system.

The faculty of the law school of Northwestern University has offered a course of systematic evening instruction to the members of the Chicago police force.

Members of the faculty of Columbia University, including Professor Gifford, Emory R. Buckner, Dr. Bernard Glueck, and Professor McBain, are giving a course for the policemen of New York City, in which more than five hundred members of the force are enrolled.

*

Motion Pictures of Recreation Activities.—Park Commissioner Raymond V. Ingersoll of Brooklyn¹ has shown what can be done through motion pictures in bring-

ing to citizens a vivid impression of actual conditions and activities in a system of parks and playgrounds. During the summer of 1916, more than 3,000 feet of films were taken under careful supervision. It takes about one hour to show these films. They were first produced at the Triangle theatre, Brooklyn, at an entertainment at which all the employes of the park department were present. Since then the department has responded to scores of invitations to have the pictures shown in the public schools and before various organizations. As Brooklyn has a large area, a population greater than that of Philadelphia, and more than 40 separate park and playground properties, these pictures are serving to show to the people certain existing opportunities for wholesome outdoor recreation, with which very few are completely familiar.

The pictures show some of the picturesque landscape in Prospect park, on the boulevards, and along the shore fronts. There are also illustrations of interesting park operations, such as the spraying and pruning of park and street trees. The chief emphasis, however, has been placed upon active recreation. Three hundred tennis courts in Prospect park are shown in active use as are also 25 baseball diamonds at the Parade grounds. Boating on Prospect park lake and winter skating on this lake and on the small artificial ponds, which have been built in various parts of the borough, make scenes full of life and activity. Pictures are shown of games and dancing in the playgrounds; and interesting views are given of children in the wading basins, swimming pools and on the Coney island beaches. Views of the children's farm gardens are particularly picturesque and appealing.

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The League of Iowa Municipalities has heretofore had no special legislative funds, but this year it is asking the different cities and towns, members of the league, to pay from \$5 to \$20 according to their population, to pay the expenses of the legislative committee and employ a man at Des Moines to read all bills and see that they do not have anything in them that would

¹A member of the Council of the National Municipal League since 1909.—Editor.

be detrimental to the cities and towns. This man will also keep track of each bill as it is reported by the different committees and see that after the bill is reported by the committee that it has nothing inserted that would be detrimental to the cities and towns.

In writing of this work, Secretary Pierce of the Iowa league says: "I might state that the Iowa league of municipalities probably gives more time to legislative matters than any other league, as we feel that in a way we represent the people and that it is up to us to look after their interests as opposed to the interests of the corporations' special interests, who usually have large lobbies at the legislature to see that their interests are taken care of."

*

The Texas City Planning Association met in Sherman, February 8. There was an attendance of over 400 from northern Texas and southern Oklahoma, in addition to the 600 Sherman people. The *Dallas News* is now featuring the papers that were read. It is expected they will be published in pamphlet form.

*

"New Jersey Municipalities," devoted to efficiency and progress in municipal administration, is the title of the official organ of the New Jersey state league of municipalities. The editor is Claude H. Anderson, who is in charge of the bureau of municipal information conducted jointly by the Princeton University library and the New Jersey state league of municipalities. In addition to being well arranged, the magazine is well printed which adds to the pleasure of its reading.

*

"The Modern City" is the title of a new "international magazine" published by the League of American Municipalities as its official magazine. Its editor is Robert E. Lee, the secretary of the organization. The first number, which contains 64 pages, is profusely illustrated and contains the pictures of the mayors of the leading cities of the country and the officers of the League.

This publication bears the same title as another publication published at Indian-

apolis, of which J. Ewing Cowgill is editor, volume 2, number 1 of which bears the same date as the first number of the first mentioned publication. The Indianapolis publication is designed according to its publishers "for thinking people who live in cities."

*

Municipal Year Book of the City of New York.—Eight thousand copies of the 1915 edition of this book edited by Dr. C. C. Williamson were sold in 1916. As a text-book it has been used extensively in the schools and colleges of the city and by those preparing for civil service examinations.

*

Public Health Notes.—The *American Journal of Public Health* carries a department of reports and notes giving the more important developments in the field of public health. The same publication is carrying on a bureau of information which readers of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW are at liberty to resort to and which they will find most helpful.

*

A Woman Council.—Umatilla, Oregon, has the unique distinction of having a legislative body composed entirely of women, due to the fact that the women's ticket defeated the men's ticket at the recent election. The new mayor, Mrs. E. E. Starcher, defeated her husband for the office.

*

Fairhope, Alabama, the oldest single tax community in the United States, celebrated its twenty-second anniversary on January 22.

*

Professor William Bennett Munro has been appointed by Governor McCall of Massachusetts, chairman of the committee to prepare information for the use of a constitutional convention to be convened this spring. His colleagues are Roger Sherman Hoar of Concord, and Prof. Lawrence B. Evans of Medford. These appointments are made upon the authority of an act which has just passed the legislature empowering the governor to appoint a commission of "three learned

and discreet persons, whose duty it shall be to compile such data as may seem desirable for the use of the delegates to the convention and to transmit it without comment or expression of opinion."

✱

Lawson Purdy, the president of the National Municipal League, spoke in Pittsburgh before the chamber of Commerce at luncheon, and before the civic league at a dinner on February 5, and on February 26 in Cincinnati before the council of social agencies. On March 5, 6 and 7 respectively he spoke at Rochester, Syracuse and Colgate universities.

✱

James H. Wolfe, of Salt Lake City, a member of the council of the National Municipal League, has been appointed assistant attorney general of Utah.

✱

H. G. Hodges, of the department of politics and municipal government, Western Reserve University, has been chosen secretary of the recently appointed committee to investigate the city manager plan and its availability for Cleveland.

✱

James H. Quire, formerly secretary of the Berkeley city club has become legislative reference librarian in the state library at Sacramento. J. R. Douglas of the political science department of the University of California has succeeded Mr. Quire as secretary of the club.

✱

Winfred B. Holton, Jr., formerly assistant director of the New York bureau of municipal research, has been appointed director of the San Francisco bureau of governmental research.

✱

John Ihlder, for a number of years field secretary of the National Housing Association and later superintendent of the Ellen Wilson homes of Washington, has been made secretary of the Philadelphia housing commission.

✱

Dr. L. G. Powers, former chief of the division of wealth, debt and taxation of

the census bureau is giving instruction in statistics at the University of Wisconsin.

✱

Charles Mulford Robinson has been appointed city planning adviser to the city of Greensboro, North Carolina.

✱

William B. Howland, since 1904 treasurer of the American Civic Association and from 1910 to 1911 a member of the council of the National Municipal League died suddenly while sitting at his desk on February 27. Mr. Howland, a lifelong publisher, is perhaps best known for his connection with *The Outlook*, although latterly the owner and publisher of *The Independent*. Mr. Howland was a forceful and stimulating coadjutor with all the modern forward movements. Although a member of the council of the League for only one year, he was a member of numerous committees and was always available for advice and suggestion. He gave freely and effectively of his experience and inspiration. Warm-hearted and sincere in his personal relations, he will be missed by a wide circle of friends and acquaintances in the various organizations with which he was actively identified.

A meeting in memory of Mr. Howland was held at the National Arts Club, New York, Friday afternoon, March 2, with J. Horace McFarland presiding. Among the speakers were Hon. Alton F. Parker, Lord Aberdeen, Dr. Albert Shaw, Ernest H. Abbott of *The Outlook*, John DeWitt Warner, Herbert S. Houston, George Kennan and the secretary of the National Municipal League.

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Robert D. Jenks, for a number of years chairman of the council of the National Civil Service Reform League, died January 24, after a short illness. Mr. Jenks was connected with the old Philadelphia municipal league and for a number of years was a member of the National Municipal League, although the bulk of his active work was in connection with the National Civil Service Reform League.

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

I. BOOK REVIEWS

JUSTICE TO ALL. The Story of the Pennsylvania State Police. By Katherine Mayo. With an Introduction by Theodore Roosevelt. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 8½ x 5½, pp. 364. Illustrated. \$2.50.

The Pennsylvania state police was created by an act approved on May 2, 1905, by Governor Pennypacker. The history of the force organized under this law is told vividly and with enthusiasm by Katherine Mayo in this volume. It is the story of a little band of picked men whose energy, courage, resourcefulness, and devotion to "the finest thing in the world" mark them as an organization unique in the United States.

Major John C. Groome has been superintendent of the state police since the beginning, with undivided responsibility for every phase of the work. The troopers pass a rigorous physical and mental examination, and then are taken on probation for four months, during which time they receive instruction in the criminal, forestry and game laws of the state. At present all except five members of the force are honorably discharged soldiers from the United States army.

The schooling of the trooper by no means ends with his four months of probation. On the contrary, recruits' schools, troop schools, and non-commissioned officers' schools are held in every barracks four times weekly. In these various classes are studied criminal law, criminal procedure, the laws of evidence, detective work and psychology, the game, fish, forestry, and automobile laws, police duties, including conduct of patrols, the manner of making arrests and preferring charges, etc., detailed sectional geography of the state, discipline, deportment, the preparation of reports, vouchers, and official communications, care of equipment, stable hygiene, diseases of the horse, and horsemanship. And the man in his sixth term of service is as strictly kept to his own grade of class-work as is the newest novice. Regular mounted and

dismounted drill, and frequent target practice are also obligatory.

Appointments to the higher positions are made only from the ranks, and the men are enlisted for a term of two years. There is no instruction book or manual, dependence being placed on regular military discipline and the occasional promulgation of general orders by the superintendent. For these troopers there is no guard house and no second offence; a first offence entails dismissal, for the superintendent means what he says. Politics plays no part where this force is concerned; the men maintain a strictly impersonal attitude toward the people, and are never stationed long enough in one section to form sympathetic connections. They understand perfectly that "the state police has no purpose save to execute the laws of the state."

The question—"What good could two or three state policemen be to a whole country?"—which was raised at the inception of the state police, has been effectually answered by their record of accomplishment. The force seems omnipresent. Its 230 men cover the state, tracking criminals, putting out forest fires, preserving order during strikes, delivering a terrorized section from the grasp of the Black Hand, catching horse thieves, guarding against violations of the game laws with a rigor unknown in local constables and wardens, patrolling the waste places between town and town, and otherwise filling in the gaps left by the unco-ordinated authorities of city and state. The book teems with records of clever detective work followed by unceasing pursuit of the offender until he is found—and apparently he is always found. After that he is seldom left unconvicted, for the state trooper knows what constitutes a crime, and is skilled in the proper presentation of evidence before a justice.

The book is an indirect plea for such an organization in other states. It quotes state and city officials, heads of large corporations, and individuals in private life, who express a belief that the security of life and property, particularly in the rural districts, has measurably been increased in Pennsylvania within the last twelve years; this without taking into consideration the socializing influence emanating from the presence of an organized body of highly trained and disciplined men who are unflinching in the line of their duty.

Miss Mayo has approached her subject rather from the standpoint of the history and the usefulness of the state police than from an impersonal, scientific standpoint. If any adverse criticism could justly be made of her book it would be that it is a bit too eulogistic in tone. The work is plainly that of an outside observer who was favorably predisposed toward the subject. While the book clearly indicates the potential value of such a force to any community, it is in no sense a guide, except in the most general way, as quoted above, for the organization and training of similar forces in other states. No attempt is made to form a comparison as regards scope, training, equipment, personnel, or the number of convictions obtained as against the number of arrests made, between the Pennsylvania state police and, for instance, the French *Gendarmerie* or the Italian *Carabinieri* or even the Canadian Northwest mounted police. The reader is left with the impression that the state police is an excellent institution, but he remains in the dark as to just how good it is in comparison with older and more experienced organizations of the same general nature.

RAYMOND B. FOSDICK.

New York City.

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WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE BY CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT. By Henry St. George Tucker. New Haven: Yale University Press. \$1.35.

The author is not concerned, according to his own statements, with the question of woman suffrage. He has simply

chosen the proposed amendment to the constitution, providing for woman suffrage as an excellent example of an "attempt to break down that just equilibrium between the federal and state governments."

The author does not claim that the constitutional amendment would violate any principle of law, written or unwritten. "My plea," he says, "is for the preservation of the integrity of the constitution in all of its parts as the surest guarantee of liberty for the American citizen." Therefore the constitutional suffrage provisions; that the qualifications for voters for the house of representatives and senate be the same as the qualifications for the voters for the most numerous branch of the state legislature; and that each state appoint the electors to vote for the president and vice-president, should be carefully maintained.

These provisions, Mr. Tucker claims, give the states exclusive and full power over suffrage. But Madison, the author of these clauses of the constitution, interpreted them as giving the states control at the outset, but as reserving to congress the power of control over suffrage.¹

The fourteenth amendment, which defines United States citizenship and reduces the basis of representation of those states which deny the right to vote to certain citizens, and the fifteenth amendment, which prohibits the states from denying suffrage on account of color or race, show that the federal government has already acted to some extent within this field and has been upheld by the courts.

Nor was it a principle of the just division of the suffrage power between national and state governments which determined the suffrage provisions of the constitution. "We have most abundant proofs that the question" of suffrage regulation was "a matter of merestate policy," in that a reduction of the various state suffrage qualifications would have thrown "a great embarrassment in the way of the adoption of the constitution."²

Even if we agreed that these provisions gave the states the full power over state and federal suffrage, and that the makers

¹ Speech at Virginia Convention, 1788.

² Story, Commentaries on the Constitution, p. 404.

of the constitution founded these suffrage provisions on a principle of division of powers, would we agree that the preservation of these regulations was the "surest guarantee of liberty"? Evidently not, for we have already amended the provisions relating to the election of the president and senators, nor would anyone argue that the present provision defining the method of electing the president should not be changed because it would "impeach the integrity of that instrument." Many changes have been made and many more will be made as new conditions arise, that were "clearly never intended by the makers of the constitution." Are the pure food and drug acts endangering that just equilibrium between federal and state governments or would the federal laws concerning military education? These questions as well as the question of suffrage must be decided on their own merits and not on the grounds of some theory respecting the "integrity" of the constitution.

Mr. Tucker presents only one argument, in discussing the question on its merits, which is based on the principle that, "The nearer the government comes to the man—the closer it touches him in his home life—that there his power should be greatest for the protection of his home and his rights." Thus, "in those matters in which all are equally interested, the federal government should act for all, but in matters in which each locality alone is interested no outside power should be permitted to interfere." We agree with this general theory, but does it help us separate federal from state functions in the questionable fields? Certainly the federal suffrage would by his own theory be a matter for federal control. Also local improvements, restrictions as to dogs and fences, as he says, are purely local and should not be controlled by the federal government. But where is the line to be drawn between national and state governments in the field of commerce, education, suffrage and taxation, for instance? This theory of local self-government does not show us, nor has he given us any other material that goes toward the solution of

this, the real problem of state rights and local self-government, to say nothing of establishing the view that the control of suffrage is given or should be given entirely to the states.

M. P. BASSETT.

New York Training School for Public Service.

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CITY RESIDENTIAL LAND DEVELOPMENT—STUDIES IN PLANNING. Edited by A. B. Yeomans, Landscape Architect, Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Pp. 138. 75 half-tone and color illustrations. \$3.

A selection of twenty-seven plans from a larger number submitted by architects and landscape architects in a competition recently instituted by the city club of Chicago are shown in this most attractive book. The terms of the competition called for a comprehensive plan of a layout for residential purposes of a typical quarter-section in the outskirts of Chicago. The competitors were asked to submit descriptive texts with their drawings and these have been printed along with the selected plans. The report of the jury and critical reviews of the plans from social, economic and esthetic points of view by Carol Aronovici, William B. Faville, Albert Kelsey, Irving K. Pond, and Robert A. Pope are also included.

The form and makeup of the book are unusually good. The plans are large and carefully printed. The type is of a size which makes the book attractive for reading and the aggregate of the illustrations and explanatory texts combined, make the whole book an accomplishment of which the city club may indeed be proud. It is unfortunate, but to be expected, considering the limitations of the competition and the unique character of the problem, that so many of the plans shown fail both in the technique of execution and in a grasp of the essentials of a problem of this character. Perhaps the most valuable and interesting portion of the book are the reviews by Messrs. Aronovici, Faville, Kelsey, Pond, and Pope, which conclude the volume. The book should

prove interesting to the real estate man, the architect, the engineer, the sociologist and hundreds of others, who see in a proper solution of such problems as are embodied in this one, an opportunity for bringing into the lives of the great mass of city dwellers, more wholesome family life, larger opportunities for recreation and play and fuller enjoyment of social and esthetic pleasures.

GEORGE B. FORD.

New York City.

✱

A SOCIAL STUDY OF THE RUSSIAN GERMAN. By Hattie Plum Williams. A thesis presented to the Faculty of the Graduate College in the University of Nebraska in partial fulfillment of requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. University of Nebraska, Department of Political Science and Sociology, Lincoln, Neb.

Hattie Plum Williams has begun an interesting study of one of our least known immigrant groups in her work "A Social Study of the Russian German." This, as the author points out in her introductory note, is but a part of a more detailed study which will appear later under a slightly different title.

This particular group of immigrants comes from two provinces in Russia which were settled in 1763 by Germans at the behest of Queen Katherine of Russia who offered them in return for their settlement of the Volga provinces of Saratow and Samara immunity from military duty, religious freedom and continuation of German schooling for the young. The status of these colonists was greatly changed by the Serf Act of 1861 and we find in the early '70's that they were beginning to emigrate to America. We find their settlements in Kansas, Nebraska and the Dakotas.

Mrs. Williams shows very clearly and ably that the group which settled in Lincoln, Nebraska, is an exception to the sociological rule that passage-paid immigrants are an undesirable class. This semi-rural settlement of Russian Germans is highly moral, religious, thrifty and very cleanly. The thrift is shown by the fol-

lowing: of those who have been in America over five years, 60 per cent own their own homes, of those here for less than five years, 8 per cent own their homes. One wishes that here Mrs. Williams had given some idea of the value of these homes as well as the wealth of detail about number of rooms, size of lots, number of summer kitchens, etc.

From the first part of this book one gathers a fair idea of picturesque communal life transplanted from the Volga. The second part deals with "Birth and Death, Marriage and Divorce." It is a wealth of detail and statistics interesting chiefly because the author seeks to establish a working basis for the compilation of future and more reliable figures. Pervading the study is a carefulness of method and an attempt at accuracy which is highly commendable. It is regrettable that more and similar studies are not being made of our smaller and less well-known immigrant settlements throughout the country.

NELLIE M. REEDER.

Wellesley, Mass.

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OUR AMERICA: THE ELEMENTS OF CIVICS.

By John A. Lapp. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company. \$1.25.

ELEMENTARY CIVICS. By Charles McCarthy, Flora Swan and Jennie McMullin. New York: Thompson, Brown and Company. 75 cents.

These two text-books are to be added to Dunn's "The Community and the Citizen" as encouraging sign-posts, pointing the way out of the Valley of Dry Bones where the teaching of formal civics in both elementary and secondary school has been slowly shrivelling for the last two decades.

The Lapp book is the larger of the two, and hence finds space for a fairly adequate discussion of the elements of civic welfare such as the protection of life and property, the safeguarding of health, provision for education, recreation and civic beauty, as well as means of communication and transportation, the promotion and control of business, the care of dependents. There

are interesting chapters on conservation and on the keeping of records, besides the usual chapters on the legislative, executive and judicial branches of government. Despite a chapter on "Some Rural Problems," this text-book is primarily one for urban rather than rural schools. For the latter, one must go to a text like Field and Nearing's "Community Civics"—which should have been called "Rural Civics."

The Lapp book is well equipped with such indispensable accessories as excellent illustrations, suggestive questions for investigation and discussion, and a number of useful appendixes among which is one on "Where to write for further information." Brief bibliographies accompany each chapter, the most of which are for teachers or for upper high school pupils. However, as a whole the book may be used most profitably in the junior high school. Fortunately, it is so planned and written as to meet the interests and needs of boys and girls of that age, to whom the appeal is coming to be made most strongly by the teachers of the new "Community Civics."

The McCarthy, *et al.*, book¹ is especially strong on the historical side; in fact, its historical excursions come rather early, before the pupil has laid a basis for them by acquiring a fairly good knowledge of things as they are. A trip "From the Cave Dweller to Modern Boston" is rather startling for the unprepared youngster to take in four pages, even though he stop at a picture of the Boston Public Library on the way!

Seriously, the book is written in the new spirit and with the new viewpoint, and its illustrations, its questions for discussion and its appendixes are commendable. If it were only twice as long, more consecutively planned, and better balanced in its historical perspective, it would deserve to stand high in the estimation of teachers of elementary civics. Here's hoping that the second edition may appear soon!

J. LYNN BARNARD.

Philadelphia School of Pedagogy.

¹See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. vi, p. 134.

MUNICIPAL ENGINEERING PRACTICE. By A. Prescott Folwell, Editor of Municipal Journal. New York: John Wiley and Sons. Cloth; 6 x 9 in.; pp. 422; 113 illustrations. \$3.50 net.

Drawing from a wide range of experience and data gathered as engineer, professor and editor, the author presents a little of the theory and much of the practice of municipal engineering. The volume contains little on water-works, sewers or paving, since these subjects have been fully treated elsewhere. It deals with the population growth of cities; the elements of city planning; sidewalks and other street details; bridges and waterways; city surveying; street lights and signs; street cleaning; garbage and refuse collection and disposal; public markets, comfort stations and baths; parks, cemeteries and shade trees. As a whole, the book is for engineers and heads of administrative departments, but it contains much information well within the understanding of any intelligent citizen. The illustrations are truly illustrative and of wide appeal.



THE BREWERIES AND TEXAS POLITICS.
Volumes I and II. 1605 pages.

These two volumes contain the testimony developed in the prosecution by the state of Texas of various Texas breweries for violations of the anti-trust law of the state and the use of their corporate funds and assets in elections in violation of both the general and specific statutes as well as the constitution. The evidence consists mainly of letters, telegrams and documents as well as the oral depositions of the brewers. The defendants in effect pleaded guilty to the charges brought and accepted a fine aggregating \$281,000, together with the expenses incurred by the attorney general and the court costs amounting to \$8,000. Moreover, all agreed that their charters be forfeited. If there were any doubt as to the participation of the brewing interests in politics, the facts set forth in this testimony would quickly and effectively dispel the idea.

NEW YORK CITY BUILDING ZONE RESOLUTION. By George B. Ford. New York: New York Title and Mortgage Company. 1917. \$2.

Mr. Ford has done an excellent piece of work in preparing an edition of the now widely discussed New York city building zone resolution, restricting the heights and use of buildings and prescribing the

minimum sizes of their yards and courts. While his explanatory notes are designed to be of special service to owners, builders and architects, they will be helpful to all students of this problem. Mr. Ford expresses only his own personal interpretation of the law, but as he was the consultant of the commission these views will be of great value.

II. BOOKS RECEIVED

THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF CAPE-TOWN. Minute of His Worship the Mayor, for the Mayoral Year ending September 11, 1916. Capetown, South Africa: Cape Times Limited. 1916.

FORM AND FUNCTIONS OF AMERICAN GOVERNMENT. By Thomas Harrison Reed, A.B., LL.B., Associate Professor of Government, University of California. Yonkers-on-Hudson, N. Y.: World Book Company. $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5$, pp. 549. Illustrated.

GOVERNMENT TELEPHONES. The Experience of Manitoba, Canada. By James Mavor, Ph.D., Professor of Political Economy in the University of Toronto. New York: Moffat, Yard and Company. $7\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 176. \$1.

HOUSING PROBLEMS IN AMERICA. Proceedings of the Fifth National Conference on Housing, Providence, October 9, 10 and 11, 1916. Published by the National Housing Association, 105 East 22d Street, New York. $9 \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 563. \$2 postpaid.

MADISON, OUR HOME. By Frank A. Gilmore. Prepared especially for use in the city schools. Madison, Wis.: Madison Board of Commerce. $8 \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 192.

MANUAL OF ACCOUNTING, REPORTING AND BUSINESS PROCEDURE OF THE CITY AND COUNTY OF PHILADELPHIA. By John M. Walton, City Controller. Second Edition. Issued by the City Controller in conformity with existing laws and ordinances. $11 \times 8\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 218.

PHILADELPHIA YEAR BOOK, 1917. Published by the Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 12\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 544.

PRINCIPLES OF AMERICAN STATE ADMINISTRATION. By John Mabry Mathews, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of Political Science, University of Illinois. New

York: D. Appleton and Company. $8 \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 534. \$2.50.

PROFITABLE VOCATIONS FOR BOYS. By E. W. Weaver, Pd.M., formerly director of the Vocational Guidance and Industrial Education Bureau of the Buffalo Chamber of Commerce, and J. Frank Byler, Ph.D., principal of the George Brooks School, Philadelphia. New York and Chicago: The A. S. Barnes Company. $7\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 282. \$1.

THE PUBLIC DEFENDER: A Necessary Factor in the Administration of Justice. By Mayer C. Goldman, of the New York Bar. With a Foreword by Justice Wesley O. Howard, of the Appellate Division, New York Supreme Court, Third Department. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. $7\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 96. \$1 net.

SIXTY YEARS OF AMERICAN LIFE: Taylor to Roosevelt, 1860 to 1910. By Everett P. Wheeler, A.M., M.S. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. $8 \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 489. \$2.50 net.

STATE GOVERNMENT IN THE UNITED STATES. By Arthur N. Holcombe, Assistant Professor of Government in Harvard University. New York: The Macmillan Company. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 9\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 498. \$2.25.

THE TAXATION OF LAND VALUE: A Study of Certain Discriminatory Taxes on Land. By Yetta Scheftel. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 8×5 , pp. 489. \$2.

WACKER'S MANUAL OF THE PLAN OF CHICAGO, MUNICIPAL ECONOMY. By Walter D. Moody, Managing Director, Chicago Plan Commission. Especially prepared for study in the schools of Chicago under the auspices of the Chicago Plan Commission. Second Edition. 10×8 , pp. 137. Illustrated.

III. REVIEWS OF REPORTS

Standard Specifications for Personal Service.¹—This report of the bureau of standards of the board of estimate and apportionment of New York city is a contribution of exceptional value to the science of public employment. It represents at least four years of intensive study of the most extensive municipal service in America, and embodies a comprehensive plan for the standardization of conditions of employment in that service.

In the language of the report itself, "the standard specifications for personal service aim to furnish a simple and logical classification of all employments in the city government, with general descriptions of duties, appropriate titles and rates of compensation, and conditions governing initial appointment, advancement and promotion as a basis for appropriation and current fiscal and civil service control and for information to present and prospective employees and the public."

Standardization of personal service, as a movement for administrative reform, has hardly passed the pioneer stage, and its technique is still in the process of experimentation and refinement. The proposed plan of the bureau of standards is a bold effort to apply to an enormously large service a set of minutely detailed specifications governing the selection, compensation and promotion of employees, and its operation will be watched with the keenest interest in all parts of the country. Many features of this plan commend themselves immediately. This is true especially of the classification of positions along functional and vocational lines which is an aid in making specific appraisals and in establishing definite avenues of promotion, and also of the detailed descriptions of standard duties which help to avert a great deal of argument regarding the grading of individual jobs. Doubtless

some of the specifications can be improved, particularly those applying to the clerical service, but this is due more to the inherent difficulty of the task than to any fault of workmanship. Opinions will differ as to the wisdom of including in a legislative measure rather detailed qualification statements which will require frequent revision by the civil service commission in accordance with its experience in holding examinations. The proposal to make efficiency records part of the scheme of advancement and promotion is in line with a general tendency in municipal employment in this country, but is not supported by any brilliant successes of similar experiments in the past.

Those who are interested primarily in the humanitarian bearings of this report will find gratification in the fact that the bureau of standards inquired into the cost of living of a workingman's family in order to determine what would be a proper wage for unskilled laborers, but they cannot help feeling keenly disappointed in the practical application of the bureau's conclusions. After finding that \$840 a year is the smallest income on which an unskilled laborer's family of five persons can maintain a "standard of living consistent with American ideas," the bureau recommends \$840 as a *maximum* rate which is attainable only after at least seven years of satisfactory service at lower rates! The introductory statement of this report contains an excellent discussion of basic principles and methods of standardizing personal service.

WILLIAM C. BEYER.²

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Administrative Code of the Philippine Islands.³—The Administrative Code of the Philippine Islands is a compilation of material relating to the administration of the islands enacted into law, and composed for the greater part of laws of the Philippine government in force, rearranged under appropriate general group

¹ Since this review was written the report has been revised to some extent and reprinted. The volume is not available for free distribution, but may be purchased from the Municipal Reference Library, 512 Municipal building, for \$1.00, postpaid.—EDITORIAL NOTE.

² Bureau of municipal research of Philadelphia.

³ Effective July 1, 1916. 1128 pp.

headings. Parts of the code have been drawn from acts passed by the United States Congress, from civil service rules, auditor's circulars, orders of the War Department issued before the Philippine government was organized, opinions of the attorney general, President McKinley's instructions, etc. Entirely new matter is also included.

While the code relates to the administration of the entire government, including a customs service, postal service, postal savings banks, superior courts of justice, the Philippine currency, internal revenue, etc., comment will be confined to such portions of the code as pertain to municipal government.

The laws relating to the administration of provinces and municipalities were particularly in need of revision. In 1907, when a compilation of laws was made, but which was not enacted into law, the committee stated that due to the enormous number of amendments, both express and implied, which had been made to the original provincial and municipal acts, it had been impossible in many instances for the committee to determine from the language of the amended act, what the administrative practice in certain particular cases was.

Municipal home rule in the Philippines is greatly restricted, many municipal functions being controlled either by the insular government or the provinces, and there appears to have been a reduction of the powers granted to municipalities by the original Taft code rather than an extension of them.

Under the conditions existing in the Philippines, however, it is probable that better results are secured through centralization.

Municipal governments are classified as municipalities, townships and settlements. Municipalities are those organized under the general municipal act in regularly organized provinces. Townships and settlements are governmental units organized in specially organized provinces. A township is practically the same as a municipality; a settlement is a much more simple form of government.

In the Moro Province, now known as the Department of Mindanao and Sulu, there is another municipal enabling act which is different from any of the above.

It may be well to state that the legislative power of the Philippine legislature, composed of the Philippine commission and the Philippine assembly, extends to all parts of the Islands not inhabited by Moros or other non-Christian tribes, which are under the sole jurisdiction of the Philippine commission. The specially organized provinces, including the Department of Mindanao and Sulu, with their municipalities, are those inhabited by non-Christian tribes or Moros.

In addition to the above, there are two chartered cities; Manila, the largest city in the Philippines, and Baguio, the summer capital. Manila is allowed to elect a municipal board of ten members who each year are required to elect one of their number as president of the board. The governor-general of the islands appoints the mayor, the city fiscal and his assistants, the judge and clerk of the municipal court, the justice of the peace, the city engineer and his assistants, the chief of police and his assistant, the chief of the fire department, and the city superintendent of schools.

Aside from the two chartered cities, municipalities and townships are of the mayor and council form. Each has an elected presidente or mayor, and a council of from eight to eighteen members, depending upon the population of the municipality. The chief financial officer of the municipality, the treasurer, is appointed by the provincial treasurer.

Each provincial board exercises general supervision over all municipalities within the province; the provincial governor appoints the chief of police of each municipality and the provincial board authorizes the number of police to be employed.

Education is under the control of the division superintendent of schools who is responsible to the insular government at Manila. Health and sanitation is likewise controlled by a health officer, who is responsible to Manila. The construction and maintenance of roads, bridges and

ferries is likewise controlled to some extent by the insular government through a district engineer.

Each municipality is required to prepare an annual budget by January 15 of each year. The appropriations for school purposes must be approved by the division superintendent of schools after which the whole budget is required to be approved by the provincial treasurer.

Municipalities render monthly accounts to the district auditor, who examines and settles them and who is also required to make periodical visits to the municipalities for the purpose of examining the treasurer's office. Standard forms of budgets and accounts are required of all municipalities in the archipelago.

A matter worthy of notice is that municipalities under the jurisdiction of the Department of Mindanao and Sulu have the right of excess condemnation. Since the municipal act relating to this department is the latest one enacted, it indicates that the Philippine commission is progressive in adopting advanced legislation.

On the whole the administrative code is a step in the right direction. It repeals laws no longer operative and parts of laws relating to matters which are better left to the judgment of the officials of government. The code is of convenient size, with index section numbers at the top of each page, facilitating reference thereto.

The enactment of a code, however, along the lines indicated, is a drastic step and its value depends upon the degree of care exercised in its preparation.

THOMAS R. LILL.

East Orange, N. J.

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Missouri Children's Code Commission.

—So many topics are included within the work of the Missouri children's code commission that even to mention them in a brief review is out of the question. The commission was somewhat too large and unwieldy for sufficiently frequent meetings to bring about a unanimous conclusion on all questions. It has, nevertheless, done a larger and more thoroughgoing piece of

work than any of the state commissions on child laws has yet done. In general it may be said that they have attempted to bring the laws of Missouri on all children's questions up to the most modern standard; endeavored to make possible for the country districts the same kind of high grade and universal service for children that is already rendered children in large cities; and have done this both through the laws and the administrative methods which they suggest.

Among the laws suggested it seems worth while to mention the following: The recommendation of the committee on marriage laws of the National Committee on Uniform Laws; the abolition of the common law marriage; and notice of five days before the granting of a marriage license.

It proposes to bring the statutes of Missouri concerning illegitimate children up to the best modern practice by providing for support and inheritance from the father as well as from the mother. It goes further than United States practice by making possible support from all men who could possibly have been the father in cases of doubt, although inheritance is restricted to inheritance from the definitely ascertained father.

Among other proposals are: A model child labor law; restriction of the work of women before and after pregnancy; the extension of the country districts health work, including routine medical examination of children, and recreation work, throwing open the public schools after school hours for public purposes; full-time compulsory education applicable to the country as well as the city; a juvenile court for each county in the state. In general this court is to operate under what may be called a model law, providing for non-criminal jurisdiction, for jurisdiction over children up to eighteen years of age, and on parental petition in cases of incorrigibility up to twenty-one, for adequate power over contributory delinquency, for referees to hear girls' cases, etc.

Some of us had hoped that Missouri would recommend as a promising experiment something like a state circuit court

for hearing juvenile cases, rather than relying upon the county court judge, whose chief business is the hearing of other kinds of cases. Experience in so many states has shown that local judges elected for straight judicial work either through hostility or indifference are unwilling to undertake juvenile work. Some day some state will have to work out something better. Unfortunately, because of local conditions, the commission found it necessary, even against its own judgment and against the tendency of modern thought, to continue within the jurisdiction of the juvenile court cases of dependency.

Important as all these modifications of the law are, it is, however, on the administrative side that the commission has been most inventive. Its chief contribution is the recommendation for the establishment of boards of public welfare in each county. Following the successful experience in Kansas City with the board of public welfare, the commission recommends that in every county in the state the three county judges,—who, it should be understood, are not judicial officers, but are the administrative officers of Missouri's counties,—the county superintendent of schools and the judge of the court hearing children's cases shall *ex-officio* constitute a county board of public welfare, which shall work through a paid county superintendent of public welfare engaged by the board, who must hold a certificate of fitness from the state board of charities corresponding to the teachers' license issued by the state educational authorities. The boards of public welfare are to have under their jurisdiction all the following kinds of work: truancy and probation for children; mothers' pensions; supervision of children in institutions and placed out in foster homes; probation and parole work for adults; local work in the state free employment bureau; placing-out work; inspection of commercial amusements; local health work. It is provided that the state supervisory agencies dealing with health, charities and corrections shall have direct relations of a supervisory kind with these local boards. Work in country districts throughout all

the states in the Union is backward. Specialized work which cities are able to support is impossible in the country districts. Children in the country districts suffer. The Missouri plan promises well, as an agency economically possible and expert in bringing the best which the cities have worked out to bear upon the problems that arise in the country. It is earnestly to be hoped that the legislature will adopt at least this much of the Missouri plan in order that their promising experiment may be tried out.

One or two other administrative matters seem to deserve mention. The requirement that the county superintendents of public welfare shall be licensed by the state board of charities as school-teachers are licensed by the state board of education, is an important and pregnant provision.

The suggestion for the provision of a state bureau for the feeble-minded to be managed under the extension department of the University, by which accurate diagnosis and record of mental deficiencies can be made for all courts, poor law officials and institutions throughout the state, seems also to have large possibilities.

The giving of additional powers to the state board of charities, especially that requiring annual license of charitable agencies, follows some successful experience in other states.

ROY SMITH WALLACE.¹

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Municipal Efficiency under Popular Control.²—The October, 1916, issue of *Equity* undertakes to present "an authoritative record to date of the experience of American municipalities under the commission or other new and improved forms of government, including their use of the initiative and referendum and the recall." To obtain this record the editor sent inquiries to "responsible officials or citizens of prominence" in more than 550 municipalities which were known to have the commission, commission-manager, or

¹ Executive secretary, the Seybert institution, Philadelphia.

² The October, 1916, issue of *Equity*, Philadelphia. 311 pp.

some other new and concentrated form of government; replies were received from 449 of these municipalities in the 43 states which make some constitutional or statutory provision for the municipal reforms indicated above; the five "unworthily distinguished" states are New Hampshire, Vermont, Rhode Island, Delaware and Indiana.

The issue contains an introduction of a dozen pages, setting forth the method pursued in assembling and checking up the reports and presenting a discussion of the scope, operation and effects of the newer devices. This discussion is colored by the propagandist purposes of the magazine. Following this introduction there is a comparative table briefly analyzing general laws and constitutional provisions concerning municipal home rule, commission or commission-manager government, and the initiative, referendum and the recall. A short examination by the reviewer discloses a few incorrect or misleading expressions in this table. For example, for Mississippi the laws are named as follows: "commission law 1908 and 1912 permissive; law of 1914 obligatory"; the Mississippi law of 1914 relates solely to the initiative, referendum and the recall, not to commission government. For Ohio the 1913 I. and R. law is not named in the appropriate column; the petition percentage for the referendum under the 1913 law should be given as 10 instead of 6.

The major part of the issue is devoted to a more extended *résumé* of constitutional, statutory and charter provisions, and to the survey of experiences of the municipalities operating thereunder, arranged in alphabetical order of states. For each state the summary of state laws and constitutional provisions is followed by the reports from residents of the "reformed" cities. Each city report is under the following divisions: (1) a sketch of the form of government and provisions for the initiative, referendum and recall; (2) a brief statement on the instances of the use or on the non-use of the methods of direct popular control in that city; (3) an evaluation of results of the city's experience with the new devices.

The reports from the municipalities were made in most cases (nine out of ten, approximately) by city officials—mayors, city managers, city clerks, etc. The opinion of these writers as to the success of the new plans is favorable in the great majority of cases. To the reviewer, this part of the work seems of little value, despite the editor's statement that "it is clear that officials, as a class, would be inclined to regard with scant favor the existence of powers enabling the voters to interfere with privileges heretofore resting entirely in the hands of officials." Officers as a class are inclined to express themselves approvingly, or at least forbearingly, with regard to institutions under which they themselves are operating. A more pertinent observation is that in the report by the city manager of St. Augustine: "An official is undoubtedly prejudiced, and, of course, we say the plan has worked well." It therefore seems of little significance that, for example, the mayor of Baton Rouge should report that the "plan works very satisfactory," or that the city clerk of Saginaw should explain that "taxes have not been materially reduced, but the money has been made to go farther," or that the mayor of Lawrence, Kansas, should acclaim—"This plan has pleased the people. I have been elected a second time."

The second parts of the city reports—sketching questions that have been submitted in each city to popular vote, and the results of such votes, and also retailing the instances of recall elections—constitute the distinctive contribution made by the volume, making more complete and up-to-date the editor's earlier recapitulation of these experiences, in the October, 1914, issue of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW.¹ Considering the difficulties in assembling adequate data on these points, the study in this feature seems as thorough as could be reasonably demanded. The first parts of the reports—summarizing provisions of laws and charters—is useful as extending and presenting in a compact form information ob-

¹See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. iii, pp. 693-701.

tainable in another shape in the Short Ballot Digest.

The pamphlet may be regarded on the whole as a serviceable compilation of facts relating to the newer forms of municipal organization and popular control. The heading—"nation-wide movement for municipal efficiency under direct popular control" is, however, broader in its connotation than the scope of the survey, which leaves out of consideration many essential elements in the movement for municipal efficiency.

F. W. COKER.

Ohio State University.

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Joint Report on Foods and Markets of Governor Whitman's Market Commission, Mayor Mitchel's Food Supply Committee, and the Wicks Legislative Committee.—This report was submitted to the Governor of New York on December 28, 1916. Mayor Mitchel's food supply committee, of which George W. Perkins is chairman, had begun to study the problem of food supply and marketing conditions in 1914; the Wicks legislative committee had been holding hearings throughout the state and in New York city for several months; the governor's commission, of which Mr. Perkins was also chairman, had been appointed more recently. These three bodies joined in the preparation of this report.

The causes of high prices and "existing conditions" are found to be as follows: the lack of "comprehensive" market departments for the state and for the principal cities; the European war; ignorance on the part of the public with regard to the relative values of different foodstuffs; lack of proper transportation and terminal facilities; the difficulties under which farmers of New York operate and the exodus of boys from the farm to the city; and the lack of supervision over interstate transactions in farm produce.

To remedy these defects, the joint committee advocates an elaborate system of market departments, the furtherance of co-operation, the encouragement of cold storage, adequate supervision of commission men and wholesalers, and the extension of agricultural education.

The system of market departments is to include: (1) a state department of markets, with commission appointed by the governor, which is to study and analyze sources of farm produce and methods of marketing, to inform the public about market conditions, to educate the public concerning food values, to issue bulletins from day to day giving correct market prices and to prevent false and misleading market quotations, and to have power to subpoena witnesses in order to make inquiries into all matters concerning the production and distribution of products; (2) municipal market departments of similar nature; (3) an interstate market commission; and (4) a state board of foods and markets, to consist of the state commissioner, the interstate commissioner, the New York city commissioner, and "four or six other commissioners to be appointed by the governor."

In some ways this report is encouraging. It does not decry the whole middleman system; it realizes the futility of retail public markets where farmers sell direct to consumers; it does not denounce the cold storage interests as highway robbers; it realizes that the majority of middlemen are honest.

In other respects the report is disappointing. As a result of the activities of three commissions it gives us no new and important facts about the marketing system, although it is to be hoped that the extensive hearings held by the Wicks committee may yield something of this nature in the future. The advocacy of better terminal facilities and of wholesale terminal markets all sounds very plausible, but nowhere is there given any positive evidence of actual losses under the present system, or possible savings under the proposed system. Careful analyses of marketing costs of different products are necessary before any such evidence can be given, and such analyses have apparently not been made.

Although market departments can perform useful services, the report apparently puts too much faith in the possible accomplishments of such commissions. It would be easy to give such departments

too much power, and there are indications that the joint committee might go too far in this respect. There is also danger that the officials on such commissions may not have sufficient expert knowledge of market practices and of the fundamentals of market distribution to carry out their functions wisely. That such a complex system of commissions as is advocated would prove beneficial would be decidedly questionable even if there were enough capable men to fill all the positions that such a system would involve.

The suggestion that market commissions issue daily price sheets and prevent the publication of false and manipulated market quotations indicates that the joint committee has not gone into the matter thoroughly enough to learn that there is an efficient and honest system of market reporting already in existence in New York city. This is one of many indications that the joint committee has not gone into many important matters thoroughly enough to furnish a basis for wise legislation. It is too early at present to foretell what the resulting bills or laws may be, but the indications point at least to the possibility and danger of unwise legislation.

L. D. H. WELD.¹

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The Chicago Loan Shark Survey.—The November *Bulletin* of the Chicago department of public welfare is devoted to the report of a survey of loan shark conditions in that city conducted by the department's bureau of social surveys under the direction of Dr. Earle E. Eubank. The survey grew out of the experiences of the department of public welfare in dealing with small borrowers who had been forced to submit to the exactions of usurious money-lenders. The purpose of the survey was: (1) to ascertain and present concretely the facts concerning the extent and character of the operations of professional money-lenders in Chicago; (2) to suggest ways and means of eliminating their extortionate practices; and (3) to suggest methods of meeting the demand

for small loans by means of legitimate substitutes for the loan shark.

The study included the extent of the money-lending business in Chicago; the devices employed to attract borrowers and secure high returns; the condition of the laws with respect to usury; the methods used in other communities to eliminate the loan sharks,—including publicity campaigns, legislation, organized defence of loan shark victims, and substitutes in the form of employer's loan funds, co-operative loan associations, credit unions, the Morris plan and the remedial loan societies.

The survey brought to light the existence of 229 separate loan concerns in Chicago, against 199 of which over 3,000 cases of extortion were obtained. It was estimated that 139 separate concerns actively operating on November 1, 1916, were doing an average annual business of \$85,000 or a total of \$11,000,000. It was shown that most of the lenders are associated in a clearing house which affords mutual assistance in obtaining information regarding applicants and collecting overdue accounts. As the usual rate of interest exacted is in the neighborhood of 120 per cent per annum, the reader of the report cannot fail to appreciate the magnitude of the evil in Chicago; its effect upon the efficiency and general welfare of borrowers and the need for an organized movement toward its elimination.

As a result of the survey the department of public welfare recommends:

1. That remedial loan societies be formed at once to make loans at reasonable rates on security of chattel mortgages and personal character.

2. That laws be enacted placing all money-lending organizations under the supervision of state authority; limiting the interest on loans to 3 per cent per month without additional fees; requiring that borrowers receive copies of the law and clear statements of the terms of their loans; rendering illegal loans void and unenforceable, and providing penalties of fine and imprisonment for violation of law by licensed or unlicensed lenders.

The object which the survey sought to accomplish was distinctly worth while.

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The study was unusually well done; the report is presented in a clear and convincing manner, and, judging by the experiences of other cities, the recommendations made are distinctly in the right direction.

A. H. HAM.¹

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Boston Public Schools.²—The people of America believe in education. They have always believed in it in a general, "charter-of-our-liberties," Fourth-of-July-oration manner, but now they are beginning to believe in it in a practical fashion. They have spent more money on universal public education in the last quarter century than any other people in the world, and they stand ready to spend vastly greater sums, if they can be convinced that they are receiving an adequate return for the investment. Just as the people of the middle ages poured forth their treasure to build churches and cathedrals as the embodiments of their highest ideals, so the people of to-day are contributing of their means to establish, equip, and adequately maintain temples of learning, which represent their conception of what is highest and best and most worth striving for in modern civilization.

But they are becoming practical in their belief in education. They are beginning to realize that universal education, with the maximum development of each individual's productive capacities, is a tremendously complicated and intricate matter, quite as complicated as modern society itself, and as such is worthy of a life-long study by the best intellects of the time. When questions of educational organization arise, they are no longer settled on the basis of high-sounding phrases, or according to the opinion of some eminent

clergyman or politician, but they are referred to a group of educational specialists for careful study and expert advice. This is what has recently happened in the city of Boston. The finance commission thought that in some respects the city was not getting as much as it should for its investment, but instead of plunging in at random and perhaps crippling valuable educational projects, it invoked the aid of experienced educational investigators in determining what steps should be taken to increase the efficiency of the school administration.

The special committee was not asked to survey the Boston schools, but to confine its attention to certain specific problems, the most important of which were the cost of administration, the organization of school districts, the number and length of school sessions, the reduction of the elementary course from eight to seven years, the value of vocational schools, and desirable school-house construction. Perhaps the most radical recommendation of the committee is the abolition of the board of superintendents, as a board, and the assignment of the members to supervisory positions under the direction of the superintendent. The report of the committee reveals a curious instance of the persistence of New England individualism in the conduct of school affairs. While the superintendent is nominally the head of the schools, and has to assume the responsibility for the working of the system, he has little real power to formulate and carry out any well-defined policy. He is only one of five practically co-ordinate agents of the school committee, the other four being the secretary, the business agent, the board of superintendents, and the school-house custodian. This division of authority frequently gives rise to such friction as to seriously hamper the work of the schools and to constitute a source of waste and inefficiency. The effect of the committee's recommendation would be to centralize authority in the hands of the superintendent, to secure for him a controlling voice in everything that pertains to school administration, and then to hold him to account for results.

¹ Russell Sage Foundation, New York city.

² Report of a study of certain phases of the public school system of Boston, Mass. Made under the auspices of the Boston finance commission by James H. Van Sickle, chairman, and a number of specialists constituting the survey committee. Boston: Printing Department, 1916. Pp.219.

Report on the Boston school department, with especial emphasis on the need for a reorganization of its central administrative system, by the finance commission of the city of Boston. Boston: Printing Department, 1916. Pp. 66.

Other recommendations of the committee are the reorganization of school districts on the basis of average daily attendance, the establishment of junior high schools, the regrouping of special departments, the extension of vocational education and guidance, employment of more teachers and decrease in the size of classes, and the extension of the superintendent's authority to the selection of school sites and the erection of school buildings. The report is especially severe in its criticism of Boston's independent school-house department, and makes serious charges of laxity, friction, waste, and obstructionism in the conduct of the department.

The members of the board of superintendents, joined by Superintendent Dyer, felt impelled to publish a "Reply" to the report of the survey committee. The finance commission, in its official report to the mayor, ratified practically all the findings of the survey committee, except the subordination of the school-house department to the superintendent, and took occasion to rap the board of superintendents quite sharply for the intemperate language of their "Reply," and for their presumption, since they were particularly under investigation, in taking any official action in the matter. The finance commission emphatically recommends that the board of superintendents be abolished, and that the individual members be designated assistants to the superintendent. The whole tenor of the two reports is, as a member of the survey committee expressed it, "to give Boston a real superintendent of schools", and marks the tendency toward increasing centralization of authority in school administration.

J. CARLETON BELL.¹



Report of the Licensing Board of the City of Boston, 1916.²—This report is of

¹ Brooklyn Training School for Teachers.

² In view of the controversy arising out of the recent actions of the licensing board of Boston, we submitted Mr. Plaisted's manuscript to a well-informed publicist of that city, who made the following observation with regard to it: "The enclosed comments seem to me to be fair for just what they claim to be. They do not claim to be a full discussion of the merits of the case in the

special interest on account of the changes in the personnel of the board during the summer of last year and the controversy that arose in connection with these changes. At the time charges were made that the changes had been brought about by persons interested in the liquor traffic, with the object of influencing the policies of the board. Comparison with the board's report for 1915 does not, however, show any considerable difference in style or in the subjects discussed. The report states that no changes in the board's general policies have been made as a result of the changes in personnel, but that some licensees were led to believe that the board's requests could be disregarded, thus making it necessary to confirm the notices previously issued.

The board goes on record as believing that if the requirements of present laws which forbid sales to intoxicated persons and to minors and which prohibit immoral solicitation in hotels and cafés, and the board's regulations forbidding treating and giving credit for liquor to be drunk on the premises were followed strictly, the offensive features of the liquor business would largely be eliminated.

On certain particular subjects, all of which appear to have been mentioned in previous reports, some special emphasis is laid. The question of treating customers in saloons is considered of special importance and it is suggested that as bartenders sometimes treat customers, contrary to the orders of their employers, it might be well to license all bartenders in order to combat this practice. This suggestion has been vigorously opposed by the bartenders' union before the general court and seems not to have been received with much favor by members of the legislature. It would seem, however, that the board's authority to refuse renewal of license gives

removal of R. W. Woods and the other commissioner, nor do they claim to be a judgment on the effectiveness of the present board. More would need to be said on these two points if they were under discussion. Mr. Prest, one of the new members of the board, is a lawyer, who for many years was a resident of the South End House and is undoubtedly in sympathy with most of Wood's ideas."

it the means of dealing with this matter, because it can force employers to adopt an adequate method of dealing with employes who disobey their orders.

One change in policy is mentioned in the report. It has heretofore been the practice to require holders of fourth class licenses who wish to do a bottling business to hold also a fifth class license. A fourth class license authorizes the holder to sell liquors of any kind not to be drunk on the premises while the fifth class license authorizes the holder to sell malt liquors, cider, and light wines not to be drunk on the premises. As the board finds nothing in the statutes prohibiting the holder of a fourth class license from bottling liquor it has abandoned the requirement that such licensees shall also hold a fifth class license, but proposes to increase the fee for fourth class licenses in order not to cause loss to the city treasury.

One of the most discussed questions relating to licenses in Boston has been whether it is advisable to locate licenses in out-lying residential districts. The board does not come to any conclusion on this matter as a general proposition, but suggests that for the time being it may be found most satisfactory to decide each particular case on its own special facts.

In endeavoring to cope with the evil of solicitation in cafés, the board had continued the policy of requiring that men unaccompanied by women be segregated in rooms used chiefly for the sale of liquor. On this problem the board finds it difficult to produce practical results, but believes the main thing is honest and vigilant control on the part of those in charge of cafés whose friendly co-operation is necessary to permanent reform.

The board also mentions that steps have been taken to avoid licensing the so-called "clubs" run by a few insiders who pay the expenses and divide the profits, most of which are received from the sale of liquor. Licenses to run billiard and pool rooms in connection with saloons are felt to be objectionable, because such rooms form an added attraction to men who hang about wasting their time and drinking more than they would without

this inducement to stay in the saloon. On account of this condition "licenses for new billiard and pool rooms have been granted with care and reluctance."

Because of complaints about intelligence offices an investigation was made last spring, which indicated that the offices engaged mainly in finding employment for domestic servants were too numerous. The number of licenses issued for this type of office has consequently been reduced. No evidence was found that immorality was prevalent in hiring domestic servants through intelligence offices.

Representation by attorneys of the parties appearing before the board is discussed in this as well as in previous reports. The board again suggests that representation by attorneys in cases coming before it is not necessary and that any statements made by attorneys to the effect that they have special influence with the board are false. It is noteworthy, however, that the board proposes hereafter to admit the public to any of its hearings which may be of public interest whereas all hearings before the board have previously been private.

The report does not discuss in detail the controversy which arose in connection with the changes in its membership. It goes on record, however, to the effect that many of the statements made in the public press and elsewhere regarding conditions on the board were entirely erroneous, that the members of the board have worked harmoniously, and that they have been much hampered by the attacks in the press and in public statements by individuals. These attacks the report characterizes as unwarranted.

JOHN W. PLAISTED.

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New York Annual Police Report for 1915.—During the last twenty years New York has had many police commissioners. Nearly all of them have been of the highest personal integrity and of much more than average administrative ability. Yet none of them succeeded in giving the city a thoroughly efficient police administration. There were law-

yers, army officers, municipal executives and others who gained well deserved praise in the positions held by them before and after becoming police commissioners. The police commissionership of New York was regarded by many as an impossible post and by nearly everyone as a graveyard of reputations. Each commissioner introduced administrative improvements of his own and attributed the inefficiency of the department's work to the shortcomings of the members of the uniformed force.

Mayor Mitchel in 1914 selected for his police commissioner a civilian police expert, Arthur H. Woods, a man who had devoted many years to a critical study of the problems of police administration in this country and abroad. The selection of this type of commissioner was an innovation in New York and the annual report of the police department for 1915 shows the wisdom of the mayor's choice and the exceptional ability of the commissioner.

Specialization of police functions and a scientific study of the methods of operation of criminals rather than spectacular raids by special squads have resulted in the suppression of gangsters and gunmen, in the prosecution of a most vigorous and effective campaign against drug addicts and in the arrest and conviction of many of the most troublesome automobile thieves, fortune tellers, white slavers and confidence men. A systematic effort to reduce the number of street accidents has included a careful statistical study of street accidents, a campaign for the education of the public, the introduction of novel safety measures, such as play streets, car-stop safety zones, police lectures in schools and in garages, and improved methods for traffic policemen and the stern suppression of reckless drivers.

Among other improvements which should be mentioned are the relief by the police of more than three thousand destitute unemployed persons, which was an entirely novel police activity, the establishment of mounted patrol and patrol booths in suburban districts and the ex-

tension of the flashlight system in the urban sections of the city, the establishment of a psychopathic laboratory for the study and detection of criminals whose mentality is sub-normal, and the introduction of an entirely new system of records and reports which greatly reduces the clerical work of the men while furnishing to the supervising officers more complete and accurate data for purposes of administrative control.

The most important achievement, however, has been the improvement in the morale of the uniformed force. Commissioner Woods has made it plain to the men, in deeds rather than in words, that he has their personal interests at all times sincerely at heart. The response of the men who in the past had suffered much from undeserved condemnation has been marvelous. The police school for recruits has been reorganized as a highly developed training school for all ranks with a most efficient director and competent instructors; systematic health instruction for the members of the uniformed force has reduced the annual sick list from 5,801 days to 5,050 days; gymnasiums have been established in many precinct station houses; instruction has been furnished in boxing, wrestling, and calisthenics; baseball teams and leagues have been organized; field days and athletic contests have been held and a system of efficiency records has been devised to gauge the comparative worth of the men in the routine performance of duty, for the purpose of rewarding the most efficient at the end of each month and giving to each man when he applies for promotion a rating in accordance with his actual efficiency.

By his appointment of Commissioner Woods, Mayor Mitchel has demonstrated that the New York police commissionership is not an impossible position, but is one which requires specialized knowledge and training in addition to native ability. By his two years of thoroughly successful administration of the department Commissioner Woods has proven to the citizens of New York and to the people of the country, what students of police adminis-

tration have always known, that the police force of New York is composed of the finest body of men to be found in any municipal police force in the world and that its shortcomings in the past have been due largely to lack of the most efficient direction. For the first time in the history of the city, the people are proud of the efficiency of their police force and this result must be ascribed to the improved administrative methods of Commissioner Woods.

LEONHARD FELIX FULD.

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Height of Buildings in Boston.¹—This commission was appointed for the purpose of revising the boundaries of the height districts established by the commissions of 1904 and 1905. These commissions had divided the city into two height districts, District A with a limit of 125 feet, and District B with a limit of 80 feet except on streets over 64 feet in width where the limit was one and one-quarter times the width of the street but not more than 100 feet. A further restriction limited the height of buildings to two and a half times the street width.

The present commission was only authorized to revise the boundaries of these two districts. It had no authority to change the detailed regulations within the district. The noteworthy feature of the report is the large extension of District A which is increased to almost twice its former size. The commission also recommends that the maximum limit throughout the city be lowered from two and one-half times the street width to twice the street width.

H. S. SWAN.

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The Elements of State Budget Making.²

—This essay attempts "to make clear, in brief and concise form, just what is involved in the adoption of a 'budget system.'" In this, as in other publications of the bureau of municipal research, it is

¹ Boston. Commission on height of buildings in the city of Boston. Report. 1916. 21 pp., map. (Docs. 1916, no. 114.)

² Bureau of municipal research, New York. The elements of state budget making. 63 p. *Municipal Research* no. 80, Dec., 1916.

practically assumed that "budget system" and "executive budget" are synonymous terms. There is a tendency, in fact, to make the executive budget stand for every desirable improvement in state administration, including "carefully devised accounting methods, adequate expert service, efficient record keeping and work reporting—in short, all the processes of good management."

Leaving aside any differences of opinion that may exist as to the particular type of budget it may be most expedient for American states to adopt, it must be conceded that many of the criticisms and suggestions offered in this study are fundamentally important for any system. For instance, no matter who makes the estimates and prepares the budget proposal, great improvement would result if the legislature were to consider the budget by committee-of-the-whole procedure, instead of by standing committees.

Referring to the need for a permanent staff of experts to aid the governor if he is to become responsible for the budget, the interesting suggestion is made that the office of secretary of state should become a staff agency responsible to the governor. "So, too," it is remarked, "there is no reason why the comptroller's office may not become the independent staff agency of the legislature."

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New Jersey Commission for the Survey of Municipal Financing.

—This commission was originally appointed by the legislature of 1915 to investigate the legal provisions and the actual practice of New Jersey cities in the matter of issuing bonds and notes for financing both of a temporary and permanent nature and the way in which sinking fund needs have been met. As a result of a score or more of recommendations some important legislation was enacted in 1916 and the commission reappointed to investigate "the methods employed and the laws which should govern the financing of municipal, school district and county affairs."

A considerable part of this second report is occupied with "renewed recommendations" of which the following are

the most important: (1) A new law requiring the compilation and publication of the financial statistics of New Jersey cities; (2) a uniform budget plan for all municipalities of the state, the use of a segregated form to be optional with each city; (3) laws requiring a distinction between money borrowed in anticipation of taxes and borrowings against delinquent taxes, with regulations to enforce a sounder policy in each case; and (4) a law authorizing cities to issue emergency notes. Following the commission's recommendations of last year, the legislature required all future loans to be in the form of serial bonds. It now recommends for existing sinking funds uniform administrative regulations and audit and supervision by state authorities, as well as a rehabilitation of inadequate funds by means of a special annual tax.

The only new recommendation made in this report suggests a law requiring the filing with some duly constituted state official of certified copies of proceedings in connection with all future bond issues.

"Such an officer would serve the same purpose for our municipal bonds that the county register serves for titles to real estate."

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Intoxication.—The title of Traffic Court Bulletin no. 1 compiled by Frederick B. House, the presiding magistrate of the recently established traffic court in New York city, is "Intoxication (How Proved)." In this pamphlet of ten pages Magistrate House has expounded the ten leading cases in New York on the methods by which intoxication may be proved. Expert testimony is not necessary to establish intoxication. A witness may testify as to the defendant's appearance, conduct and language and then express his opinion, based on these facts, as to whether or not the party was intoxicated; or the witness may directly state the fact of intoxication without going into details. The pamphlet will be found of distinct practical value and helpfulness by lawyers and magistrates.

L. F. F.

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—. Requirements in planning sun-light cities. (*Record and Guide*, Dec. 30, 1916: 891-893. tables.)

YEOMANS (A. B.), editor. City residential land development: studies in city planning, competitive plans for subdividing a typical quarter section of land in the outskirts of Chicago. [1916.] 138 pp. illus.

A publication of the City Club of Chicago.

BRIDGEPORT

NOLAN (JOHN). Better city planning for Bridgeport: some fundamental proposals to the City Plan Commission; with, A report on legal methods of carrying out the changes proposed in the city plan for Bridgeport, by Frank Backus Williams. 1916. 159 pp. maps. illus.

This is Mr. Nolan's final report, and contains also his preliminary report, issued in 1915. Mr. Williams' report includes references to printed materials on the subjects treated.

CLEVELAND

McMICHAEL (S. L.). Some practical city planning [in Cleveland, Ohio]. (*Natl. Real Estate Journ.*, Dec., 1916: 254-256.)

ELGIN

BENNETT (E. H.). Plan of Elgin [Illinois]. Prepared for the Elgin Commercial Club. 1917. 46 pp. maps. illus.

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ADSHEAD (S. D.). The town planning of Greater London after the war. (*Surveyor and Municip.* and *County Engr.*, Jan. 5, 1917: 11-13.)

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ANON. Helping Newark to grow right, 1-4. (*Newark Evening News*, Feb. 5, 6, 7, 8, 1917.)

Copies of the reprint of these articles may be obtained from Mr. Arthur B. Cozens, secretary of the City Plan Commission, Firemen's Bldg., Newark, N. J.

Fire Prevention

ANON. Nonfireproof institutional buildings in New York City made safe against fire. (*Engng. Record*, Jan. 18, 1917: 101-104. illus.)

Methods employed by the city of New York in making safe many of the originally nonfireproof institutional buildings under the Dept. of Charities.

NATIONAL BOARD OF FIRE UNDERWRITERS. COMMITTEE ON FIRE PREVENTION. Report on Boston. Dec., 1916. 55 pp. maps. (Rept. no. 158.)

NATIONAL FIRE PROTECTION ASSOCIATION. Outside stairs for fire exits. Recommendations for their construction and installation prepared by Committee on Safety to Life. (*Fire Engr.*, Dec. 1916: 232-237. illus.)

—. Structural defects: suggestions for their elimination and protection. Prepared by the Committee on Manufacturing Risks and Special Hazards. 1916. 17 pp. illus.

—. Syllabus for public instruction in fire prevention [by Franklin H. Wentworth]. [1916.] 8 pp.

Fire Protection

ANON. Fire departments and automatic sprinklers. (*Natl. Fire Protection Quarterly*, Jan., 1917: 279-286.)

—. 1916 fire losses [in the United States and Canada] \$231,442,995. (*Natl. Fire Protection Assn. Quarterly*, Jan., 1917: 252-254.)

—. The operation of high pressure fire service systems. (*Engng. and Contracting*, Jan. 10, 1917: 36-38.)

Data relating to Philadelphia, Baltimore, New York City, and Cleveland, taken from the special report of the Committee on Fire Prevention of the National Board of Fire Underwriters.

JAMES (G. B.). Oil storage. (*Natl. Fire Protection Assn. Quarterly*, Jan., 1917: 260-270. illus.)

NATIONAL BOARD OF FIRE UNDERWRITERS. Cause of New York fires. (*Municip. Journ.*, Jan. 4, 1917: 16-17. chart.)

BOSTON

ANON. The "covering in" system [Boston]. How a large department shifts its fire companies so that no section of the city is left unprotected when a big fire is being fought. (*Fireman's Herald*, Feb. 10, 1917: 107, 115-117.)

CHICAGO

RUTHERFORD (G. W.). The Chicago fire department. (*Municip. Journ.*, Aug. 24, 1916: 216-217.)

Includes plan of organization and duties of each official, criticism of fire-hydrant service, fire-prevention methods.

NEW YORK CITY

ADAMSON (ROBERT). Modernizing the New York [Fire] Department; what has

been accomplished in the metropolis during the past three years and what is planned for 1917. (Fireman's Herald, Dec. 30, 1916: 574.)

SAN FRANCISCO

SAN FRANCISCO REAL ESTATE BOARD. Report of the Tax Committee on the proposed two-platoon system for the San Francisco Fire Department. 1916. [4 pp.]

The Committee strongly recommends against the adoption of the system at this time.

Flood Control

LOS ANGELES. BOARD OF ENGINEERS ON FLOOD CONTROL. Report [of the engineers appointed by the City of Los Angeles, the Chamber of Commerce and the Municipal League to review the plans and proposals of Engineer J. W. Regan of the County Flood Control District. . . .] [1917.] [4 pp.]

Garbage and Refuse Disposal

ALLEN (H. A.). Chicago's half-completed garbage-reduction plant turns expense into income. (Engrng. Record, Feb. 10, 1917: 215-218. illus.)

Col. Allen is consulting engineer for the city of Chicago and chief of waste-disposal technical staff.

ANON. Prof. Whipple reports on New York's proposed garbage-reduction works. (Engrng. Record, Jan. 13, 1917: 49-51.)

A digest of the report made by Prof. G. C. Whipple of Harvard University, to the deputy com'r. of the New York State Dept. of Health.

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF BLUEFIELD, W. VA. Garbage—Methods and recommendations [of 38 cities]. [Tabular statement] compiled from special reports, spring of 1916, for the Better Street Cleaning and Garbage System Committee, by W. L. Shafer, secretary. 1916. blue-print.

DUFF (E. E.). Collection and incineration of garbage in Sewickley, Pa. (Municip. Engrng., Feb., 1917: 59-61. illus.)

GAYTON (ROBERT F.). Dutch-oven garbage incinerator, Mason City, Iowa. (Engrng. Record, Jan. 4, 1917: 27. illus.)

O'BRIEN (W. J.) and LINDEMUTH (J. R.). The fertilizer value of city waste. 1. The composition of garbage. (Journ. of Industl. and Engrng. Chemistry, Jan., 1917: 49-54. diagr. tables.)

TRIBUS (L. L.). Refuse and garbage disposal—a general survey. (Amer. Journ. of Pub. Health, Dec., 1916: 1307-1314.)

— Disposal of garbage, a large city's problem. (Better Roads and Streets, Jan., 1917: 19, 32.)

Housing

See also City Planning.

CITY AND SUBURBAN HOMES COMPANY (New York). Negro housing: a sound economic plan to solve a social problem of the greatest importance to every citizen. [1916.] [8 pp.] illus.

MOLITOR (JOHN). Housing problems and modern health boards. (Domestic Engrng., Jan. 13, 1917: 48.)

NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON HOUSING. Housing problems in America: proceedings of the fifth national conference, Providence, Oct. 9-11, 1916. [1917.] 563 pp.

VEILLER (LAWRENCE). Problem of housing industrial workers: duty of employer of labor to concern himself about conditions under which workmen live. Pts. 1-3. (Record and Guide, Jan. 13, 20, 27, 1917: 39-40, 75-76, 111-112.)

Libraries

CHICAGO. PUBLIC LIBRARY. Library plan for the whole city. Proposed system of regional and auxiliary branches. 1916. 7 pp. map.

Liquor Problem

CHICAGO. COMMISSION ON THE LIQUOR PROBLEM. Preliminary report to the Mayor and Aldermen by the . . . Commission . . . [appointed . . . to make a comprehensive study and report on the medical, moral, political, social, financial, economic and other aspects of the use of intoxicating liquors in Chicago]. Dec., 1916. 65 pp. tables.

Loan Sharks

CHICAGO. DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WELFARE. The loan shark in Chicago. A survey made by the Bureau of Social Surveys. 1916. 96 pp.

Bull., i, no. 4, Nov., 1916.

Markets

BOSTON. CITY PLANNING BOARD. A summary of the market situation in Boston. Preliminary report of the Market Advisory Committee, June, 1915. 1916. 175 pp.

Motion Pictures

BRENTON (CRANSTON). Motion pictures and local responsibility: how the National Board of Motion Pictures works—the dangers of legalized censorship—the responsibility of the local community. (Amer. City, Feb., 1917: 125-130. illus.)

NEW YORK STATE LIBRARY. Compilation and digest of the charter provisions and ordinances of the cities of New York State regulating the licensing of moving pictures, by James Hodgson. Jan., 1917. [96 pp.] typewritten.

ROGERS (G. A.). The law of the motion picture industry. 1916. 58 pp.

Discusses, among other topics, questions of censorship and Sunday legislation.

Municipal Engineering

ANON. Municipal engineering in 1916. Surveyor and Municip. and County Engr., Jan. 26, 1917: 69-88.)

A résumé of municipal engineering work in England during 1916, with sections devoted to bridges, electricity supply, highways, housing, municipal

buildings, refuse disposal, sewerage and sewage disposal, street lighting, town planning, tramways, and water supply.

BOOT (HORACE). Some notes on the uses of electricity in municipal engineering (Surveyor and Municip. and County Engr., Jan. 12, 1917: 36.)

COOKE (MORRIS L.). Public engineering and human progress. 1916. 15 pp.

A paper presented before the Cleveland Engineering Society.

FOLWELL (A. PRESCOTT). Municipal engineering practice. 1916. xi, 422 pp. diagr. illus.

Contents: fundamental data; the city plan; street surface details; bridges and waterways; city surveying; street lights, signs and numbers; street cleaning and sprinkling; disposing of city wastes; markets, comfort stations and baths; parks, cemeteries and shade trees.

WHITWELL (EDWARD). A survey of municipal engineering. (Surveyor and Municip. and County Engr., Jan. 12 and 19, 1917: 30-33, 54-56.)

Refers to England.

Municipal Government

See also City-Manager Plan.

HUNT (H. T.). Obstacles to municipal progress. (Amer. Pol. Sci. Rev., Feb., 1917: 78-87.)

LEAGUE OF CALIFORNIA MUNICIPALITIES. A handbook for city officials of the fifth and sixth class cities of the state of California. 1916. 182 pp.

NEW JERSEY STATE LEAGUE OF MUNICIPALITIES. New Jersey Municipalities. v. 1, no. 1. Jan., 1917.

A monthly periodical "devoted to efficiency and progress in municipal administration," and edited by the Director of the Bureau of Municipal Information maintained by the League at Princeton University.

ROBINSON (G. C.). The experience of Wisconsin cities with the commission form of government; as expressed by representative citizens. (Municipality, Nov.-Dec., 1916: 178-186.)

Successful operation is the general conclusion.

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BOSTON. STATISTICS DEPARTMENT. Boston statistics, 1916, with memorable sites and buildings. 1916. 52 pp.

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CHICAGO. BUREAU OF PUBLIC EFFICIENCY. Unification of local governments in Chicago. Report. 1917. 98 pp. charts, tables.

LOS ANGELES

HAMILTON (JOHN J.). Efficient democracy for Greater Los Angeles. Nov., 1916. 19 pp.

"A plea for constructive co-operation in city, county and school administration as against the proposed policy of county disruption."

SAN FRANCISCO

BUREAU OF MUNICIPAL RESEARCH, NEW YORK. The government of the city and county of San Francisco. 1916. 681 pp. charts, tables.

A survey report prepared for San Francisco Real Estate Board.

Municipal Ownership

MARSTON (GLENN). The results of indifference to the public. (Electrical Review and Western Electrician, Jan. 6, 1917: 27-28.)

Some causes for municipal ownership. (Electrical Review and Western Electrician, Feb. 3, 1917: 191-192.)

MAVOR (JAMES). Government telephones; the experience of Manitoba, Canada. 1916. 176 pp.

The author's conclusions are not favorable to government ownership.

THIEME (T. F.). Municipal ownership; the salvation of our cities. [1916.] 20 pp.

UNITED STATES. COMMITTEE ON THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA (House). Municipal ownership of street railways in the District of Columbia. 1916. 26 pp. (64 Cong., 1 sess. House report no. 952.)

Municipal Service

BREITHUT (F. E.). The status and compensation of the chemist in public service. (Journ. of Indust. and Engrng. Chemistry, Jan., 1917: 64-79. tables.)

With particular reference to chemists employed by the United States government, by New York state, and by New York City.

BUREAU OF MUNICIPAL RESEARCH, NEW YORK CITY. The engineer in public service, by Frederick E. Breithut. Pts. 1-2. 1916. 176 pp.

Municipal Research, nos. 78 and 79, Oct. and Nov., 1916.

FITZPATRICK (E. A.). An organized movement to make public service a career. (Amer. City, Feb., 1917: 134-136.)

GRUENBERG (F. P.). Why do men leave the public service? (Pub. Servant, Dec., 1916-Jan., 1917: 149-152.)

KLEIN (O. H.). The chemist in the service of the city of New York. (Journ. of Indust. and Engrng. Chemistry, Jan., 1917: 79-81.)

WILEY (H. W.). The chemist in the public service. (Journ. of Indust. and Engrng. Chemistry, Jan., 1917: 81-84.)

Municipal Universities

DAYTON. BUREAU OF MUNICIPAL RESEARCH. A report upon the feasibility of establishing a municipal university in Dayton, Ohio. 1917. 36 pp. type-written.

UNITED STATES. BUREAU OF EDUCATION. The co-operative system of education. An account of co-operative education as developed in the College of Engineering, University of Cincinnati, by Clyde William Park. 1916. 48 pp. plates. (Bull., 1916, no. 37.)

Parks

FERRIS (H. R.). Methods and cost of maintaining thirty acres of parks and boulevards. (Engrng. and Contracting, Jan. 3, 1917: 17-18.)

Gives data for Victoria, B. C.

NEW YORK CITY. DEPARTMENT OF PARKS. BOROUGH OF MANHATTAN AND

RICHMOND. Street trees for Manhattan and Richmond; how and when to plant trees on your street. 1916. 8 pp.

Pavements

See also Public Health, Traffic.

ANON. Replacing pavement cuts; practices of 28 cities in backfilling trenches and repaving over them—power tamping—flushing—reinforcing concrete base. (Municip. Journ., Dec. 21, 1916: 777-778.)

Abstract of report of Committee on Paving of the American Society of Municipal Improvements.

Paving done in 1916 and proposed for 1917. (Municip. Engrng., Jan., 1917: 28-31.)

Gives statistics for yardage laid, cost and city's share for 1916; yardage in prospect, estimated cost and city's share for 1917.

Street paving in 1916; data from city engineers and other officials giving amounts of the various pavements laid in 1916. (Municip. Journ., Feb. 1, 1917: 130-170. tables.)

Contains details of construction and cost, as well as information for contractors concerning local conditions in hundreds of cities.

Asphalt pavements laid in 1916 and proposed for 1917; descriptions of pavements as laid, cost per square yard and total cost. (Municip. Engrng., Feb., 1917: 63-66. tables.)

General principles concerning materials and their use in street paving and road construction. (Engrng. and Contracting, Feb. 7, 1917: 131-132.)

The digest of a report presented by a special Committee of the Amer. Soc. of Civil Engineers. The full report is printed in the December Proceedings, xlii, no. 10, pp. 1611-1642.

ATWOOD (JOSHUA). Boston and its streets. (Good Roads, Feb. 3, 1917: 67-74. illus. tables.)

BLAIR (W. R.). Paving brick, their production and economic use. (Better Roads and Streets, Jan., 1917: 15-16.)

BLANCHARD (ARTHUR H.). Present practice and regulations pertaining to pavement openings. (Engrng. and Contracting, Feb. 7, 1917: 122-123.)

A paper read before the Citizens' Street Traffic Committee of Greater New York.

BROWN (C. C.). The design of bituminous pavements. (Municip. Engrng., Feb., 1917: 42-46. illus.)

COMPTON (R. KEITH). The construction and maintenance of stone block pavements. (Municip. Engrng., Jan., 1917: 2-6. illus.)

Modern practice in street paving. (Manufacturers' Record, Feb. 22, 1917: 57-60. illus.)

MORSE (S. T.). A step toward the rational design of concrete pavements. (Engrng. and Contracting, Feb. 7, 1917: 135-137. tables. illus.)

NEW YORK. STATE BUREAU OF MUNICIPAL INFORMATION. Experience of American cities and states with concrete paving. Feb. 10, 1917. [22 pp.] typewritten.

The report contains data received from the engineers of 62 cities and 27 state departments of highways.

TEESDALE (C. H.). The treatment of wood paving blocks. (Better Roads and Streets, Jan., 1917: 12-14. charts.)

Pensions

UNITED STATES. BUREAU OF EDUCATION. State pension systems for public-school teachers. 1916. 46 pp. maps. tables. (Bull., 1916, no. 14.)

Prepared for the Committee on Teachers' Salaries, Pensions, and Tenure of the National Education Association, by W. Carson Ryan, Jr., and Roberta King.

Pneumatic Tube Mail Service

MERCHANTS' ASSOCIATION OF NEW YORK. I. Opposing the abolition or curtailment of the pneumatic tube mail service in any city where it now exists. II. Letter from Hon. John Purroy Mitchel, Mayor of New York, to Hon. Champ Clark, Speaker of the House of Representatives, protesting against additional mail trucks in the city's streets. Dec., 1916. 30 pp.

Police

BOSTON. CHAMBER OF COMMERCE. Report of the Committee on Municipal and Metropolitan Affairs concerning one day off in eight for policemen. Dec. 27, 1916. 5 pp. typewritten. tables.

Declares in favor of the scheme in Boston.

NEW YORK CITY. POLICE DEPARTMENT. The Junior Policeman. vol. i, no. 1. Jan., 1917.

This new bulletin is published "for the purpose of keeping the Junior Police forces in closer touch with one another."

Ports

BALTIMORE. HARBOR BOARD. A book of Baltimore harbor; its modern facilities and numerous advantages. [1917.] [39 pp.] maps. plates. illus.

BOWEN (S. W.). A municipal river terminal system for St. Louis. (Journ., Engrs.' Club of St. Louis, Dec., 1916: 365-450. plans.)

CRESSON (B. F., JR.). Expanding export trade emphasizes need for adequate water terminals. (Engrng. Record, Jan. 6, 1917: 14-16.)

Urges the public ownership of waterfronts, with careful provision of all necessary facilities.

CROW (ARTHUR). The port of London; past, present, and future. (Town Planning Review, Oct., 1916: 4-17. plates.)

NEW JERSEY. BOARD OF COMMERCE AND NAVIGATION. Report on a proposed marine terminal and industrial city on New York Bay at Bayonne, N. J. Nov., 1916. 114 pp. maps. plans.

Prices

CHICAGO. MUNICIPAL REFERENCE LIBRARY. Comparative ordinances of cities fixing a standard loaf of bread; compiled for the Committee on Judiciary [of the Board of Aldermen]. 1916. 6 pp. typewritten.

—. Foodstuffs; retail prices in 24 cities; comparative statement prepared for Committee on Health of City Council of City of Chicago, by Frederick Rex. 1916. 7 pp. (Pamphlet no. 655-A.)

Public Comfort Stations

ANON. Some types of public comfort stations. (Domestic Engrng., Jan. 6, 1917: 5-9. illus.)

Public Defender

GOLDMAN (M. C.). The public defender: a necessary factor in the administration of justice; with a foreword by Justice Wesley O. Howard. 1917. 96 pp.

Public Health

See also School Hygiene.

ANON. Poor city pavements as breeders of disease. 600 words. (Engrng. and Contracting, Feb. 7, 1917.)

CONNORS (ARTHUR). The trend of legislation for public health. 1916. 38 pp.

Bulletin no. 9 of the Indiana Bureau of Legislative Information.

COX (J. W.). The next step toward efficiency in public health [the proper collection of vital statistics]. (Quart. Journ., Univ. of N. Dak., Jan., 1917: 156-165.)

FORD (JAMES). Bibliography of tuberculosis in its relation to house infection and housing betterment. (Amer. Journ. of Pub. Health, Dec., 1916: 1326-1333.)

FRANKEL (LEE K.) and DUBLIN (LOUIS I.). A sickness survey of Boston, Mass. 1916. 23 pp. tables.

Published by the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company. This pamphlet is the fourth in a series of community sickness surveys made by the authors; the others relate to Rochelle, N. Y., North Carolina, and the U. S. Health Service, Washington, D. C.

GARDNER (M. S.). Public health nursing; with an introduction by M. Adelaide Nutting. 1916. 372 pp.

HARRIS (L. I.). The municipality in industrial hygiene; new methods for the protection of public health [in New York City]. (Scien. Amer. Supplement, Jan. 6, 1917: 2-3.)

First annual report, Division of Industrial Hygiene, Department of Health, New York City.

NEW YORK CITY. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH. The duty of health departments on the alcohol question. By Haven Emerson. 1916. 7 pp. (Reprint series no. 50.)

SCHROEDER (M. C.) and SOUTHERLAND (S. G.). Laundries and the public health. A sanitary study including bacteriologic tests. (U. S. Pub. Health Repts., 1917: 225-269. tables.)

TRASK (J. H.). Malaria as a public health and economic problem in the United States. (Amer. Journ. of Pub. Health, Dec., 1916: 1290-1297.)

WISCONSIN. MUNICIPAL REFERENCE BUREAU. Dental clinics in Wisconsin cities. (Municipality, Nov.-Dec., 1916: 186-188.)

Public Utilities

ANON. Central station growth and rate reductions. (Electrical World, Jan. 27 and Feb. 3, 1917: 173-174, 217-219. charts.)

Outlines a plan for linking the time for rate reductions with the increase in the number of corrections, based on the methods adopted in Milwaukee and St. Louis.

—, Massachusetts utility practices looked into. 900 words. (Electrical World, Feb. 17, 1917.)

BARKER (HARRY). Side lights on depreciation problems of utilities, 1-2. (Engrng. News, Dec. 21-28, 1916: 1167-1168, 1212-1215.)

BLOOD (W. H., Jr.). Some problems in the operation of public utilities. (Stone and Webster Journ., Jan., 1917: 29-38.)

ERICKSON (HALFORD). Problems in rate regulation accentuated by higher operating costs. (Electrical World, Jan. 6, 1917: 5-9. table.)

FORD (J. F.). Public utilities and city finances. (Pacific Municipalities, Jan., 1917: 569-573.)

HAY (T. R.). Origin and status of utility regulation. (Electrical Review and Western Electrician, Jan. 13, 1917: 71-74.)

ILLINOIS. SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC UTILITIES (HOUSE). Report, together with a draft of a bill to provide local control of public utilities in the city of Chicago. Jan. 20, 1917. 29 pp.

—, STATUTES. A bill for an act to authorize and empower cities now having, or which may hereafter have, a population of two hundred thousand (200,000) or more to provide for the regulation of public utilities. 1917. 16 pp. (50 Gen. Assy. House bill no. 210. Senate bill no. 139.)

JONES (STILES P.). The new order in public utility franchises. (New Jersey Municipalities, Jan., 1917: 14-15, 25-29.)

JORDAN (L. C.) and others. A method of determining a reasonable service rate for municipally owned public utilities. Discussion. (Proceedings, Amer. Soc. of Civil Engrs., 1916: 1973-1981.)

JUNKERSFELD (PETER). Effect of local conditions on utilities. (Electrical Review and Western Electrician, Jan. 27, 1917: 148-150.)

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF RAILWAY COMMISSIONERS. Report of the Committee on Public Utility Rates. (Electric, gas and water companies.) [1916.] 12 pp.

WHALING (H. B.). Regulation of public utilities. (Quart. Journ., Univ. of N. Dak., Jan., 1917: 166-176.)

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ANON. Modern street lighting in a small city. (Electrical Review and Western Electrician, Feb. 3, 1917: 196-197.)

Refers to the city of Roundup, Mont.

DEMPSEY (W. T.). Electric street lighting in New York City, with particular reference to the Borough of Manhattan. (Trans., Illuminating Engrng. Soc., Dec. 30, 1916: 1137-1143. illus.)

WARE (LEON H.). Experience with a sliding scale gas rate schedule. (Gas Age, Feb. 15, 1917: 187-188.)

Refers to experience of Martinsburg, W. Va.

WATKINS (G. P.) and LUBARSKY (L. H.). Consumption of gas as affected by population. (Quarterly Pubns., Amer. Statistical Assn., Dec., 1916: 405-417. chart. tables.)

TRACTION

EVANS (H. H.). Work of the Chicago Traction and Subway Commission. (Pub. Service Record, Dec., 1916: 3-7, 16. illus.)

MALTBIE (W. H.). Baltimore's railroad problem. 27 pp. diagr.

City Club of Baltimore, Bulletin, Feb., 1917.

VALUATION

AMERICAN SOCIETY OF CIVIL ENGINEERS. Report of the Special Committee to Formulate Principles and Methods for the Valuation of Railroad Property and Other Public Utilities. (Proceedings, Dec., 1916: 1709-1938. tables.)

GRAY (JOHN H.). How does industrial valuation differ from public-utility valuation? (Journ. Amer. Soc. of Mechan. Engrs., Feb., 1917: 115-118.)

Publicity

SHAVER (C. W.). Popularizing purification plants; how Grand Rapids dispels popular prejudice against use of chemicals in water purification plant—use of models and charts. (Municip. Journ., Jan. 11, 1917: 37-39. illus. plan.)

Describes method used to "educate" the public and dispel suspicion and prejudice.

Purchasing

THOMAS (A. G.). Aids to efficient buying. (Amer. City, Feb., 1917: 149-152.)

Schools

See also Vocational Education.

BERG (H. O.). The public schools as municipal neighborhood recreation centers [in Milwaukee]. (Amer. City, Jan., 1917: 35-43. illus.)

SARGEANT (I. G.). Is the Gary system the panacea for our educational ills? (Forum, Sept., 1916: 323-326.)

UNITED STATES. BUREAU OF EDUCATION. Gardening in elementary city schools, by C. D. Jarvis. 1916. 74 pp. plates. (Bull., 1916, no. 40.)

VOORHEES (H. C.). The law of the public school system of the United States. 1916. 429 pp.

BOSTON

BOSTON. FINANCE COMMISSION. Report of a study of certain phases of the public school system of Boston, Mass. [By James H. Van Sickle.] 1916. 219 pp. chart. table. diagr. (Dec., 1916, no. 87.)

BROOKLYN

BROOKLYN CIVIC CLUB. The public schools of Brooklyn. Study and recommendations of the Committee on Education. (Brooklyn Civic Club Bull., Jan., 1917: 3-14.)

CHICAGO

CHICAGO. COUNCIL. [Report of the Committee on Schools, Fire, Police and Civil Service recommending a reorganization of the Board of Education.] (Proceedings, meeting of Dec. 7, 1916: 2392-2401.)

LOS ANGELES

LOS ANGELES. BOARD OF EDUCATION. Report of the Advisory Committee on certain aspects of the organization and administration of the public school system, begun April 17 and concluded May 22, 1916. 1916. 177 pp. tables.

NEW YORK

JOHNSON (E. H.). Children as a great machine. The need of reorganization in the New York City public schools. (Survey, Jan. 13, 1917: 425-427.)

LEVITAS (ARNOLD). The teaching of printing in the public schools [of New York City]. 1916. 6 pp.

PUBLIC EDUCATION ASSOCIATION OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK. The case of the Julia Richman High School. Pt. 1: How civic foresight, municipal interest, administrative efficiency can solve the problems of a modern school. Pt. 2: How \$30,000 may be saved annually by the city of New York and the working efficiency of the school be increased if a plan like the following be adopted. Jan., 1917. 20, 12 pp. illus.

PHILADELPHIA

SMEDLEY (EMMA). The co-operative school luncheon system of the Philadelphia Board of Public Education. (Modern Hospital, Feb., 1917: 136-138. illus.)

School Buildings

CASSELL (J. D.). Heating, ventilating and electrical equipment of the Philadelphia public school buildings, high and elementary. (Merchant Plumber and Fitter, Feb. 10, 1917: 80-82.)

SNYDER (C. B. J.). A new type of public school; designed for operation under duplicate school plan, as well as for use by neighborhood associations. (Municip. Engrs. Journ., Dec., 1916: 445-467. illus.)

School Hygiene

See also Public Health.

BROWN (E. F.), compiler. The school nurse: a selected bibliography. Dec., 1916. 4 pp.

Bulletin of the Russell Sage Foundation Library no. 20.

BUREAU OF MUNICIPAL RESEARCH, TORONTO. Facts and suggestions as to health conditions in our schools. Dec. 29, 1916. 10 pp. (School Story no. 9.)

MINNEAPOLIS. BOARD OF EDUCATION. Keeping the children well. Medical inspection; school nurses; the open air school; open air rooms. [Prepared by Charles H. Keene.] 1916. 41 pp. illus. (Series 1916-17, monograph no. 4.)

SCHAPIRO (JOSEPH). Some aspects of school health supervision. (Educational Administration and Supervision, Dec., 1916: 625-639. diagr. tables.)

Sewage Disposal

COFFIN (T. D. L.) and HALE (F. E.). Mt. Kisco sewage disposal plant. (Journ. Amer. Water Works Assn., Dec., 1917: 908-921. charts. tables.)

EDDY (H. P.). Digestion of activated sludge. (Surveyor and Municip. and County Engr., Dec. 1, 1916: 504-506.)

A paper read before the American Society of Municipal Improvements, October, 1916.

ELLIS (J. RUSSELL). Notes on experiments with activated sludge process at Regina. (Canadian Engr., Feb. 8, 1917: 124-126. tables. diagrs.)

HATTON (T. CHALKLEY). Activated-sludge process of sewage disposal firmly established. (Engrng. Record, Jan. 6, 1917: 16-19.)

Mr. Hatton is chief engineer of the Milwaukee Sewerage Commission.

PHELPS (GEORGE). Brushwood as a medium for sewage filters. (Canadian Engr., Feb. 8, 1917: 117-120. illus.)

REQUARDT (GUSTAV J.). Activated-sludge power costs. (Engrng. News, Jan. 4, 1917: 18-19. illus.)

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MEMBERSHIP PROPOSALS

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Name.....

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Name.....

Address in full.....

I propose the above named persons for membership in the National Municipal League.

Signature of proposer.....

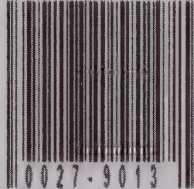
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National Municipal Review
1917-05: Vol 6 Iss 3

INTERNET ARCHIVE



0027-9013

VIEW

TOTAL No. 23

OF NEW

York city on July 25, comprehensive plans for the American city. It g and city building. of people and it directly affects property assessed at more than eight billions of dollars.

All admit the desirability of some degree of order in building development. All have witnessed the irreparable injury caused by haphazard building. That a public garage, stable or factory should be permitted to invade and destroy one after another the best residential blocks of the city seems wasteful and foolish. Yet so implicit is our adherence to the theory that a man must be allowed to do what he please with his own property that we have considered ourselves powerless. Up to a few years ago this was the prevalent attitude in New York city. This supposed legal difficulty was fortified by the practical difficulty of securing an agreement in a democratic community on the details of a plan to control and direct city building. Yet notwithstanding these supposed difficulties, legal and practical, New York city has adopted a building zone plan with a substantial unanimity of opinion. What a few years ago would have been ridiculed as fantastic, arbitrary and confiscatory, is now welcomed by the property owners themselves as reasonable and absolutely necessary in the interest of public health, safety and general welfare and for the conservation of property values. The property

¹Paper read before the National Municipal League, Springfield, Mass., November 24, 1916.

²Secretary, committee on the city plan, board of estimate and apportionment, New York city.

owners of New York city have in recent years had some peculiarly distressing experiences with haphazard construction. This fact taken in connection with the quiet, patient work of the commission on building districts and restrictions has brought about with very little opposition the adoption of a comprehensive plan for the control of future building development throughout the five boroughs of New York city.

HEIGHTS OF BUILDINGS COMMISSION, 1913

The plan adopted is the result of some three years of careful investigation, research and conference. The preliminary investigation was carried on by the heights of buildings commission appointed in February, 1913. The commission's report of 295 pages contains a thoroughgoing and authoritative discussion of the problem of regulating the height, area and use of buildings. The commission found that any complete system of building control necessitated the application of different regulations to different parts of the city and accordingly recommended that the city be divided into districts and that the restrictions for each district be worked out with reference to the peculiar needs and requirements of that particular district.

COMMISSION ON BUILDING DISTRICTS AND RESTRICTIONS, 1914

The heights of buildings commission submitted a draft charter amendment permitting the board of estimate and apportionment to divide the city into districts for the purpose of regulating the height of buildings, the area of courts and open spaces, the location of trades and industries and the location of buildings designed for specified uses. This draft amendment was passed by the legislature and became a law April 20, 1914. This charter amendment provides that the board of estimate, before exercising the powers conferred, shall appoint a commission "to recommend the boundaries of districts and appropriate regulations to be enforced therein." Pursuant thereto the board on June 26, 1914, appointed a commission on building districts and restrictions. This commission consisted of sixteen members with Edward M. Bassett as chairman and Lawson Purdy, vice-chairman. Taking up the work where the former heights of buildings commission left it and using its data, investigations and report, the districting commission spent two years in making an exhaustive study of the entire subject. The committee on the city plan of the board of estimate placed at the disposal of the districting commission its expert staff.

THE ZONING SURVEY, 1914-1915

The districting commission directed its staff to secure all data essential to a knowledge of existing conditions and tendencies, and to an estimate of future growth and development. This data, supplemented by personal inspection on the ground, was used to assist the expert knowl-

edge and experienced judgment of the members of the commission in laying down the actual district boundaries and the regulations to be enforced therein.

It was essential that the data collected should be both detailed and comprehensive. There must be detailed information in relation to the buildings and physical characteristics and immediate environment of every individual block and also comprehensive or bird's-eye views of the entire borough or city. The comprehensive view is indispensable to the determination of the number and characteristics of the various kinds of districts to be established and also for the determination in a general way of the logical boundaries for such districts. The detailed examination street by street and block by block is necessary to determine the exact boundaries and also to determine whether there is need for the exemption of certain small areas within the boundaries of a larger district.

Topographic features. Especially in the undeveloped areas, the existing lay of the land, the rivers, hills, valleys, marshes, highways, railroads and other physical features give the best indication of the probable future use of the land. The topographic and hydrographic charts of the national government were used, as were also the more detailed topographic and grade maps prepared by the topographic bureaus of the boroughs. From these a map was prepared showing by colors the grade percentage in each street. Twenty-foot contour lines were also drawn covering practically the entire city with the exception of the borough of Richmond.

A steep street grade will often mark the boundary line between different kinds of use or between different types of the same kind of use. It often serves to separate the waterfront industrial or ware-house use from a business or residential use or a business use from a residential use. A study of the grades is helpful in determining the future traffic streets and hence the future business streets. Steep grades in certain sections make it reasonably certain that they will be used for residential purposes—they are unfitted for either business or industry.

A bird's-eye view of any city discloses the fact that industry of the heavier type seeks the waterfront and lower levels. Cheap transportation and sometimes also cheap land are the attractions that bring the heavy industries to the low levels. The railroads follow the low levels in passing through the city and the waterfront as the place at which rail and water transportation meets naturally has the best terminal facilities. Low-lying land bordering deep water constitutes in a city an almost certain dedication to future terminal and industrial use.

Rapid transit system. While the location of the rail and water terminal facilities fixes the location of industry of the heavier type, the passenger transportation system is the chief factor in determining the location of business centers and sub-centers and in determining the building up and the intensity of use of various residential districts. The rapid transit

system at present in operation or under construction will necessarily determine the general lines of city growth and development for many years to come. Owing to the automobile and electric suburban railroad service the local centers will continue to increase within a radius of 50 miles or more of New York; but the great bulk of the population of the city will continue to be housed within a five-cent fare and a 40-minute ride of the chief business center.

A time zone transit map was carefully worked out showing the time from every part of the city to the city hall and to 14th street. This time includes the time required to walk from any given location served by a transit line to the nearest station and the running time from that point to the city hall or to 14th street. As a rule only the five-cent fare routes are considered. Areas beyond half a mile or a 10-minute walk from a transit line are not dealt with, as a half-mile belt is considered the limit of any considerable influence of a transit line. The time zone map includes lines planned and under construction as well as those now in operation and is based on estimated running time when the new dual subway system is in full operation. This time zone map was in constant requisition to assist the judgment of the commission in its determination of the appropriate use and the appropriating intensity of use of particular areas.

Distribution of population. The figures of the 1900, 1905 and 1910 censuses were charted on the maps by enumeration districts. These enumeration districts in Manhattan, The Bronx and Brooklyn are generally very small areas including one or more city blocks. The 1910 figures were even more carefully analyzed and distributed within each enumeration district according to the existing housing accommodations. A spot map was then prepared with each spot representing 25 people. This is probably the most intensive study that has been made of the distribution of the population of the city. The spot map was of great assistance in comprehending at a glance the distribution of population throughout the city and in estimating the relative effect of various kinds of transit facilities on the distribution of population.

Supplementing the census data as to distribution of population in their places of abode data was obtained and charted to show the distribution of factory workers in the places in which they work. At the request of the commission the state labor department compiled from its records a block census for all factory employes throughout the city according to place of work. With this data the commission prepared a spot map of factory employes—one spot for each 250 employes. This map was valuable in laying out the unrestricted or industrial districts and in studying the existing and possible future relation between congestion of factories and congestion of population.

The results of the police census of 1915 were plotted by census districts and the center of gravity of the population of each district obtained and from these the center of gravity of the population of each borough. These were combined to obtain the center of gravity of the population of the entire city. This map enables one to see the relation of these several centers of population to existing business and traffic centers.

Existing building development. The entire zone plan as proposed by the commission is based on a frank acceptance of existing conditions. The zone plan not only does not affect the continued use of any existing building but it ordinarily does not attempt to radically change the character of new buildings from the type with which any considerable area is at present built up. It was very important, therefore, that the commission should have before it a detailed record of the existing building development in every part of the city. For this purpose the insurance atlases of the city of New York proved of invaluable assistance. These atlases show in detail the use to which all buildings are put, the character of construction, as well as their height and area, and are amended at frequent intervals by means of pasters, so as to be always very nearly up to date.

Distribution of buildings according to use. In order to study the location of existing residential, business and industrial buildings and areas, borough maps were prepared showing in colors industrial buildings and uses, business buildings, store and dwelling buildings and residential buildings, including under the latter head, schools, churches and institutional buildings. These maps enabled the commission to determine the general boundaries of the residence, business and unrestricted districts in so far as such boundaries could properly be based on the existing building development.

The commission based its work, however, not entirely or chiefly on existing building development but also upon its judgment of future growth and requirements. In order to better judge the future growth and change of the business, residence and industrial areas a careful study was made of such growth and change in the past. Based on information given in the atlases of the various boroughs published at various intervals during the past 50 years, borough maps were prepared showing in colors for the various periods, the location of industrial, business and residence buildings. In order to note the effect of freight and water terminals and of improved transit facilities on the location and growth of building development, the rail and water terminals and the transit lines were carefully noted on the building development maps. These historical maps show from period to period the expansion of the built-up area of the city and the development and change of the industrial, business and residence areas.

Distribution of existing buildings according to height and area covered. In order to aid in the determination of the number and character of the

height districts to be established and the general boundaries of the various districts so far as they would be affected by the height of existing buildings, maps were prepared showing in colors the height of each building throughout the city. Similarly for the purpose of assisting the judgment of the commission in laying out area districts, maps were prepared showing graphically the area covered by each building throughout the city.

Land values. Comparative land values are a most important and accurate measure of difference in the kind and character of use appropriate for various areas. Values are especially important in determining that particular intensity of use that is consistent with the most beneficial use of the land. They are therefore particularly useful in the determination of the boundaries of the various height and area districts.

It is fortunate for this purpose that for the past few years sectional maps have been published by the city department of taxes and assessments, giving the assessed value per front foot of all land throughout the city. In this case the unit of value is the value per front foot of an interior lot 100 feet in depth.

From these sectional maps, a map of the entire city was prepared showing in colors the various ranges of value per front foot. This enables one to compare at a glance, *e. g.*, values in Flatbush with values in Bay Ridge and values in The Bronx with those of Brooklyn. It also shows the blighting effect on certain sections of an invasion by inappropriate or nuisance uses.

FINAL REPORT AND ADOPTION BY BOARD OF ESTIMATE

On June 2, 1916, the districting commission presented its final report to the board of estimate. The board of estimate held a series of public hearings on the report and it was also carefully considered by the committee of the whole of the board and by two sub-committees. On July 18, 1916, the committee of the whole submitted its report endorsing the zone plan. On July 25, 1916, the board of estimate adopted the plan and made it effective by a vote of fifteen to one. The single vote in opposition to the plan was apparently not in opposition to the zoning principle but based on the refusal of the board to incorporate a certain more restrictive regulation for a particular district than that contained in the plan adopted.

NECESSITY FOR A COMPREHENSIVE PLAN OF CITY BUILDING

The fundamental basis of the zone plan as presented by the commission is the need for the building of the city in accord with some well-considered plan. The commission says:

"City planning is a prime need of our city. It is plain common sense to have a plan before starting to build. City building is no exception to the rule. Haphazard city building without a comprehensive plan is ruinous.

"The bigger a city grows the more essential a plan becomes. Traffic problems, the congestion of population, the intensive use of land, the magnitude of the property values involved, make the control of building development more and more essential to the health, comfort and welfare of the city and its inhabitants. New York city has reached a point beyond which continued unplanned growth cannot take place without inviting social and economic disaster. It is too big a city, the social and economic interests involved are too great to permit the continuance of the *laissez faire* methods of earlier days."

The undoubted fact that the intrusion in a residence block of the garage, factory or other business building means a decline in rental and property values, is not based solely or even largely on sentimental considerations, but almost wholly on considerations of health, safety, comfort and convenience. Quiet and freedom from the distraction incident to trade, industry and attendant street traffic are essential to a wholesome home environment. Especially in the crowded sections the streets must be used as breathing spaces for the mothers and as play spaces for the children. The traffic in a residential block incident to a few business or industrial buildings may make the street a very unsafe place for the children who play therein. This helps in the congested districts to thwart the play instinct. Ernest M. Coulter, clerk of the children's court of Manhattan, testified that he had found by investigation that this thwarting of the play instinct was responsible for at least 40 per cent of the delinquency cases coming before the children's court.

Both the environment of the home and the home itself must be protected and safeguarded in every possible way if we would preserve under the necessarily crowded conditions of city life the physical, mental and moral health and general well-being of the people. The commission had testimony to the effect that there was a very direct relation between the rapid increase in nervous disorders and the congestion, noise and confusion incident to the existing haphazard and uncontrolled building development. The commission says: "The necessity for reducing the stress and strain of city life is becoming more and more apparent. This is essential if the city is to be a place in which our heritage of health and vitality is to be used, conserved and handed down to succeeding generations instead of being abused and exhausted." The commission also holds that well-ordered city development cannot fail to have a marked effect on the physical fitness and vitality of the city's inhabitants. The commission says: "Health is sometimes regarded as merely the absence of disease, but as has been pointed out by George C. Whipple, professor of sanitary engineering, Harvard University, in a memorandum submitted to the commission, that is not a complete conception of health. 'Health is more than the absence of disease. It is something positive, and involves physique and vitality and it is mental as well as physical. The inherent

difficulty at the present time is the absence of scientific methods of measuring this positive element in health. Yet the world knows as a matter of human experience that it is real and vital. The expression "health and comfort of the people" is centuries old, and these two ideas are inseparable.' Health as a positive concept denoting physical and mental well-being will be promoted in many ways by the districting plan."

OUTLINE OF USE DISTRICTS ADOPTED

The plan adopted while necessarily detailed and complicated is in principle the most simple and obvious thing imaginable. Residence districts are established and they are protected against invasion by trade and industry of every kind. Business districts are established and they are protected against invasion by the trades and industries that are admittedly a nuisance in a retail business section. Unrestricted districts are established where any kind of industrial business or residential use is permitted. The unrestricted districts are chiefly located along the railway terminals and the navigable waterfront. They comprise the sections now devoted to industrial uses and those in which an industrial use seems appropriate. The business districts except in the main centers are for the most part made up of the frontage on both sides of the traffic thoroughfares. The local retail business naturally follows the traffic thoroughfares and transit lines. By preventing the sporadic store from locating in the side residential streets, values on both natural business arteries and the side residential streets are improved. The concentration of all local stores on the main arteries helps values on such streets and the exclusion of the store from the residential streets improves rentals on such streets.

HEIGHT AND AREA DISTRICTS ADOPTED

For city building it is not alone necessary that there shall be a plan that will segregate buildings according to use, but it is also necessary that there shall be a segregation according to intensity of building development. This is essential in order to secure to each section of the city as much light, air, safety from fire and relief from congestion, with all its attendant evils, as it consistent with the most beneficial use of the land. Intensity of use should be so regulated that, assuming that the entire section should be built up uniformly with buildings of the maximum height and extent allowed, the section as a whole would be appropriately improved.

A speculative builder puts up the first high building in a block. The windows are placed on property lines or on very narrow courts or yards. Securing its light and air from above the surrounding low buildings, it is very attractive to tenants and shows a good return on the investment. When, however, the building is blanketed on either side and on the rear by towering buildings of the same height and the supply of light and air is cut off, rents decline and the value of property is seriously impaired.

There can be no maintenance of healthful conditions of light and air and no stability of values if each individual owner is at liberty to build to any height and over any portion of his lot without regard to his appropriate and reasonable contribution to the light and air of the block.

The zone plan accordingly establishes zones for the purpose of regulating the height of buildings and the area of yards, courts and other open spaces. Five classes of height districts are established limiting the height of the building at the street line to a varying multiple of the street width. The multiple of street width rule limits the height of a building at the street line only. The building may be carried higher by means of mansards or vertical walls provided such extended portion is set back in a prescribed ratio. As an exception to the general height and set back rule, special regulations are provided for dormers and towers. If the area of a building is reduced so that above a certain level it covers only 25 per cent of the area of the lot, a street wall above such level may be carried to any height provided it is distant 75 feet from the center of the street.

The zone plan also establishes five classes of area districts, A, B, C, D and E, with varying regulations as to size of yards and other open spaces. Except in A districts, any building that is back to back with the rear of another property and is more than 55 feet back from the nearest street must have a rear yard. The requirement for a rear yard is reciprocal. No building is required to have a rear yard unless a similar obligation could be imposed for any building hereafter erected immediately behind such yard. In addition to a percentage requirement as to depth of the yard at its lowest level, the yard must increase in depth with the height of the yard, being not less than one inch, two inches, three inches, four inches or five inches in depth for each one foot of its height, according as it is located in the B, C, D or E district.

The A district is essentially a warehouse district and is confined to a narrow belt along the navigable waterfront and along the rail terminals. No yards are required in this district.

The B and C districts include all of the residence sections in which a tenement or apartment house development is anticipated. The restrictions provided for the D districts are especially appropriate for one- and two-family house sections, especially where houses occur in rows. They are also appropriate for multi-family houses provided they are built with more adequate courts and open spaces than has formerly been customary. The minimum dimensions of yards and courts in the D districts are double those required for buildings in the B districts.

The E district regulations are particularly appropriate for detached or semi-detached houses on lots 40 feet or more in width. They are applied under the zone plan to a number of residence sections at present built up with villa houses conforming in general to the regulations prescribed for an E district. The E district regulations are also applied to considerable

undeveloped areas in which a high-class villa development seems appropriate.

LEGALITY OF THE ZONE PLAN

Many American cities have had more or less experience with certain phases of the zoning principle. Boston and Washington have established height districts; Los Angeles has created residence and industrial districts; Minneapolis has created sporadic residential districts; numerous other cities have created districts from which stables and other designated uses of a nuisance character are excluded; various other cities have experimented with the imposition of restrictions based on the petition or consent of the property owners in a particular block.

The New York zone plan differs materially in scope and method from any of the above attempts to regulate building development. The New York plan is complete and comprehensive. It covers the height of buildings, the area of courts and yards, and the location of trades and industries. It is applied throughout the five boroughs of the city. It is the result of a conscious, intelligent effort to direct the building of the city in accord with a well-considered plan.

Moreover the New York zone plan differs notably from these other partial applications of the zoning principle in the very great care given to its preparation. It is the result of some three years of careful research, investigation and conference. It was worked out by a commission admirably suited by training and experience for the difficult task in hand. This commission had the assistance of an expert staff that devoted itself unreservedly to the work.

The entire work has, moreover, been based on a strict adherence to the purposes for which the police power may be exercised, *i. e.*, the public health, safety, order and general welfare. The testimony taken by the commission is filled with statements by experts showing the great importance of the various features of the zone plan to the public health, safety and general welfare. While, however, these considerations have been basic, there has gone hand in hand a careful weighing and estimate of all the economic factors that must have a bearing on the reasonableness of any specific regulation. Moderation and proportionateness of means to ends which are the essence of reasonableness have been secured by a most careful consideration of existing conditions of building development and of existing economic tendencies.

The courts have passed on a number of these partial applications of the zoning principle in other cities. Most of these decisions have been favorable. A few sporadic and very partial and incomplete applications of the zoning principle have been declared unconstitutional. These adverse decisions by reason of the partial application of the regulations in question and the different methods used in their preparation can be of little value in considering the constitutionality of the New York zone plan. While,

for example, it may be difficult to see anything but a discriminating and confiscatory interference in a regulation prohibiting trade and industry in a single block or in a single small section of a city, the public purpose behind such a regulation may be clear and unmistakable if it is applied, not to a single block, but to all the residence sections of the city and is a part of a comprehensive, well-considered plan of city building. While a specific regulation taken by itself may not seem to have a very direct relation to the purposes for which the police power may be invoked, yet when taken as a part of a comprehensive plan for the control of building development throughout the entire city, its relation to such purposes may be unmistakable. Grant that a comprehensive zone plan is essential to the public health, safety and general welfare, and it follows that every specific regulation that is an essential part of such comprehensive system is justified under the police power.

The reasonableness of any particular classification contained in the New York zone plan must, therefore, be based not on whether such classification can, standing alone as an isolated regulation, be justified as a reasonable exercise of the police power, but must be based (1) on whether a general zone plan is essential to the public health, safety and general welfare, and (2) on whether the classification in question is essential to this general plan.

The report of the heights of buildings commission of December 23, 1913, the report of the commission on building districts and restrictions of June 2, 1916, and the report of the committee of the whole of the board of estimate and apportionment of July 18, 1916, furnish detailed, authoritative and convincing proof of the thoroughness with which the zone plan for New York city has been worked out and of the necessity of its adoption in the interest of the public health, safety and general welfare. These documents also demonstrate conclusively that the enlightened civic and moral sense of the community demanded that the former haphazard method of building development should cease and that a comprehensive plan for the control of city building should be adopted. The United States supreme court in *Noble State Bank v. Haskell*, 219 U. S. 104, 111, said that: "In a general way . . . the police power extends to all the great public needs. . . . It may be put forth in aid of what is sanctioned by usage, or held by the prevailing morality or strong and preponderant opinion to be greatly and immediately necessary to the public welfare." There has seldom been an important public regulation affecting vitally such vast interests that has had such universal public support as has the New York building zone plan. When the plan came before the board of estimate and apportionment for adoption the committee of the whole of that board reported that:

The general support that has been given the proposed plan by every interest affected is proof both that it serves an urgent need and that it has

been worked out with care, discrimination and moderation. The real estate, lending and building interests are united in their support of the plan; as are also the commercial and civic associations. Not a single organization of any kind has opposed the general plan. Two or three individuals have registered their unalterable opposition to the principles involved. If the plan had been presented only a few years ago the protestants would doubtless have been legion. A great change has come about in the way that people look at this question. Zoning, instead of being regarded as confiscatory, unconstitutional, arbitrary and impractical, is now generally regarded as reasonable, obvious and absolutely necessary for the preservation of the city and of the property interests affected.

FUTURE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ZONE PLAN .

The board of estimate has full power to amend and supplement the plan adopted. Many minor changes will be necessary to correct imperfections in the plan. There are doubtless errors and omissions that will be brought out only by actual operation. Other amendments will be required to meet changing conditions of city growth. It is to be expected that the plan must be supplemented and changed when certain fundamental factors affecting the physical structure of the city have been worked out. The charter provides that the board of estimate and apportionment may after public notice and hearing amend or supplement the plan from time to time. If, however, the owners of 20 per cent of the frontage affected by a proposed change protest against such change, it can only be made by a unanimous vote of the board.

CITY PLANNING AND POLITICAL AREAS

BY GEORGE E. HOOKER

Chicago

THE question of how best to divide a country into political areas for purposes of government is always a difficult as it is a fundamentally important one. It is bound to be an especially vexed matter to resolve in a country which—as is true generally of the modern world—is undergoing rapid social changes, owing to new applications of science and resultant shifts of population.

We are in the midst of such changes now, and a revolution is actually taking place accordingly in our political areas—a revolution not unnaturally presenting many cases of maladjustment and plainly needing guidance. Our country is divided into states, the state into counties and the county into towns, each political unit in the descending series dealing with more and more localized interests. This series, however, fitting rural conditions and based on approximate equality of area of counties with counties and towns with towns, is being broken into on every hand by the industrializing and urbanizing movement. The growing population has been distributing itself more and more in aggregations at particular points. A new network of pulsating centers, presenting new physical problems and requiring new political authorities to deal with them, has been superimposed upon the country's original system of political areas and is remapping the most active and important—although in extent comparatively limited—parts of the country. The process, however, is not standardized, and it shows many misfits—many cases where the political areas do not match in size, and therefore do not meet, the problems of physical organization requiring to be dealt with. These expanding communities, representing in no small part the enterprise of the nation, need efficient communication, outward and local, extended systems of water supply and waste disposal, ample spaces, properly placed with reference to each other, for their domestic, business, recreative and cultural life, and a wise distribution and development of all the physical factors which should make up their internal organization. What are the best sizes of political areas for dealing successfully with the nice and insistent city planning problems thus presented?

GAIN AND LOSS THROUGH LOCALISM

Chicago's instructive experience in this direction suggests that, in respect to our large cities at least, political areas should for some city planning purposes be more local and for others more metropolitan than they

now are. A generation and a half ago, Chicago was in need of parks, inside and outside the city limits. Neither county, town, nor city, corresponded in bounds even approximately with the area for which a park system was needed. Instead, however, of enlarging the city to such bounds and giving it power to acquire parks, the legislature created three new park authorities, each covering about a third part of the city together with adjacent territory outside the city limits, and authorized each of these boards, acting independently, to acquire parks. As the city has expanded, additional park districts have, under state law, been formed, and there are now sixteen inside the city, each an independent park-acquiring and taxing authority.

That this multiplication of local park authorities has had certain beneficial results due to its localism, can scarcely be denied, in the light of the world-famous developments in recreation facilities which Chicago's park districts have produced. Possibly the explanation of these developments lies partly in the fact that by the unequal distribution of park taxes which resulted from the district plan, the board which profited became especially venturesome and so set an example in playgrounds which other boards eagerly followed. It must also be said that the local boards, despite the bad methods of creating some of them, have compared favorably in personnel with other governing bodies in the community and have represented important forces of district pride and ambition.

On the other hand, from the financial standpoint and from the standpoint of comprehensive development, Chicago's system of independent park boards has proved seriously deficient. The raising of the revenues by districts has not distributed resources equitably either according to contributions or according to need, and financially the system of localism has been wasteful as well as unfair. The Chicago bureau of public efficiency has reported that half a million dollars could be saved annually in the cost of administration if park consolidation were adopted. Nor have the recreation needs of the community as a whole ever been perceived by any one of the various boards or by all of them together. It was in fact the city council, representing the entire city, which, by its special park commission, formed in 1899, initiated the movement for adequate provision of recreation facilities on some inclusive plan—which movement was later taken up by the local park boards with such brilliant results in playground development. Some localities are still neglected, and no closely studied comprehensive scheme has even yet been accomplished or formulated for the entire community.

Another unfortunate but logical result of the local system—in which the north and south branches of the Chicago river have been boundaries between the principal park districts—is that this river, although it is the chief and only important natural feature of the interior of the city, has never been improved for a foot of its length for the adornment of the city,

or for pleasure purposes. It has instead been a sort of buffer state or no-man's land between the separate park boards, no one of which had jurisdiction over it as a whole, or even over both sides of it at any point. To improve one side would have been to take chances as to the other side, and its improvement has thus been practically impossible. Quite opposite results have occurred in respect to the interior water courses of Boston, all of which have been within the jurisdiction of one authority, the Metropolitan park commission.

CO-OPERATION NEEDED

The plan, however, of enlarging local political areas to keep pace with the geographical expansion of city planning problems, cannot be carried to indefinite lengths. After such enlargement has been carried as far as it reasonably should be, such problems, crossing boundaries between political areas, will still remain, and they will require to be dealt with by the state or the nation.

For example, the county of Cook, which includes Chicago and about four times as much territory outside its limits, has at last been clothed with authority to acquire a metropolitan park system and is proceeding to do so. The county corresponds roughly to the region interested in this project, and the creation of another political area to deal with it is thus avoided. No sooner does the county begin its task, however, than, despite its own great size, it discovers that at least in one direction and perhaps in two, this task logically extends as a unit across the line into another county, whose co-operation is thus highly desirable. It is trying now to secure this co-operation on a fair basis through friendly negotiation. Possibly it can be so secured. If not, the completeness of this essentially city planning project will, of course, suffer accordingly. The state is the natural political area to insure that co-operation between two of its subsidiary areas.

But city planning problems may also become inter-state. Across the state line from Chicago, on the southeast shore of Lake Michigan, lie the Indiana sand dunes, several square miles of which are greatly desired as a public reservation which shall preserve for the Chicago region, for the nearby industrial cities of Indiana and for the country at large, the plant and wild animal life and the unique natural beauty for which these dunes are famed. Accordingly, under a resolution of the United States Senate, the department of the interior held a public hearing in Chicago a few weeks ago on the desirability of acquiring this tract as a national park through federal action. Whether it is so acquired or not, the case illustrates a class of city planning interests involving joint needs extending into two states—for the protection of which needs, if the national government is not to function in some manner, either by acquiring the areas

directly or by promoting co-operation between the two states to that end, no political areas exist which are adapted to function.

To avoid undue multiplication of political areas we must try to arrange them to meet not merely one important city planning need of the community—parks, water, drainage, sewerage, means of transport, industrial areas, homes, etc.—but so as to insure that all these physical factors of the community are *co-ordinated* in an organic fashion. In other words these different factors must be developed under unified control. Those responsible for them must report to a common head. They cannot, even if developed for the same area, be carried out by authorities independent of each other.

This fact may likewise be illustrated by the experience of Chicago—as it could be by that of many other communities. The sanitary district of Chicago, comprising the city and as much more territory outside, was created nearly thirty years ago as an independent legislative, administrative and taxing authority, to provide for drainage and sewage disposal for the community. Despite its large operations and expenditures, however, it has had no organic or indeed co-operative relations with any other local authority. One result of this isolation is that while the community's park agencies have been advocating or making large expenditures to increase the attractiveness and availability of the surrounding country for recreation, the sanitary district has carried out its work in such a manner—and needlessly so—as almost to ruin the appearance of some of the most beautiful environs of the city. Had the park bodies and the sanitary district board been brought into direct administrative contact with each other as parts of the same government, such nullification by one department of the specific objects of another could not conceivably have taken place.

Again, the public schools of the city are under an independent board, which, though co-extensive in jurisdiction with the city, is not a part of the city government. It is not administratively associated thus with any of the park bodies, not even with the city's special park commission. This separation is undoubtedly responsible for the conspicuous failure of our public education system and our public recreation system to work, both in the planning and in the use of properties, with that *co-operation* which is so obviously appropriate and so urgently demanded.

So, too, the isolation of the government of both the parks and schools from the other branches of the city government has deprived these departments of what might otherwise have been a wholesome contact with the cultural and humanizing ideas attaching to the subject of parks and the subject of schools, ideas whose incidence upon those departments is desirable.

Political areas should then be adjusted in extent to the extent of the problems with which they are to deal, but instead of creating a separate

political area to deal with a particular problem, the aim should, at least ordinarily, be to adjust the area in size to the resultant of the demands, in respect to size, of the group of problems, local to that general area, which should be dealt with co-operatively, and hence under one authority. These problems can be best dealt with some by small and some by large units of area.

THE NEIGHBORHOOD

(1) There is then a need to-day, from the standpoint of city planning, for a standard political area corresponding to the city neighborhood—or if one answers that there are no such things as city neighborhoods, then for the city neighborhood that ought to exist. A large city should be divided into local or neighborhood governments, presumably elective, which should, under the city government, have charge of certain physical interests of the district. The desirability of having real city neighborhoods matching certain city planning needs—and, through meeting these, realizing also certain spiritual ends—neighborhoods defined and vitalized by the possession accordingly of certain governing powers, is enforced in many ways.

It is emphasized by the monotonous lack of local structural design and thus of efficient organic character in our outspread cities, looked at as wholes. It is emphasized by the struggling efforts of groups of persons in various localities, through local improvement clubs, to affect their local physical conditions by their joint efforts, and by the fact that, as things are, a great part of the people feel helpless or indifferent concerning these matters. It is emphasized by projects which have been made by architects and sociologists to design fit groupings for local institutions, business, cultural and social, with a view to the better performance of their proper functions and a better symbolizing of the idea of neighborhood solidarity. It is emphasized by the zealous and in many places locally rooted social center movement, which has spread so widely during the last few years. It is emphasized by the desire of the finest elements of many isolated nationality groups for broad and inclusive co-operation in their districts toward social welfare, and by the spreading notion that the common folk should be mustered into the life of the community as they have not been heretofore. It is emphasized by the recognized need for moderating the excessive and wasteful mobility of city populations, by giving more meaning to locality and making neighborhoods more worthy of permanent residence. It is emphasized by the fact that certain local interests, touching both the physical functions and the social aims of modern government, can be better understood and administered locally than by the long range machinery of a city government centering at city hall and covering perhaps scores or hundreds of square miles. It is emphasized by the historical fact that the finest architectural

embodiments of human institutions and ideals have for the most part been wrought out by communities of limited size, as ancient Athens and the cathedral cities of Europe amply testify.

As to precisely what functions would lend themselves to efficient local management—possibly the design, construction, maintenance and adornment of local streets, the removal of household waste, the provision of some recreation factors, especially for the smallest children, the receipt of taxes, the registration of vital statistics, the development of an architectural scheme for a real neighborhood center—whether these are some of the functions which might be considered as appropriate for local management, is a question upon which I do not wish now to enter. Nor need we now discuss whether this primary governing area should comprise one square mile or ten, 10,000 people or 100,000. Cases would be decided according to circumstances. Just as local intelligence, pride and initiative, however, are invaluable in smaller cities for the purposes of government, just as the value of these forces is indicated by that fear of losing them which leads many outside communities to resist annexation to larger communities—so, I believe, these forces will, when given fair opportunity, demonstrate their value and efficiency toward limited city neighborhood government on a well-considered plan. I believe that the proper scope and objects of city planning will be neither adequately conceived nor adequately achieved except through the application to the large city of some federal scheme which will bring to bear the potentialities of neighborhood political areas as such for their own higher physical organization.

THE CITY

(2) The next larger political area should of course be the city itself. This unit should first deal with cases, bound to arise, of disagreement between two adjacent neighborhood governments, concerning problems affecting both, and hence requiring co-operation between them. The city itself, through some appropriate and expeditious method, should resolve such differences. But the city's main duty will be to manage all those public physical aspects and functions of the community—those city planning problems—which concern it as a whole and therefore require unity of treatment over the entire site of the community life. The adaptation of the city to meet the main group of city planning problems is recognized and needs no argument.

THE STATE

(3) If the city be a growing one, however, and especially if there are other nearby cities, there arises a difficulty well stated in a private letter by Mr. Mayo Fesler, who, using his own city as an example, says, "In Cleveland we are prohibited from working out any comprehensive city plan because all about the city are a number of satellite cities which

have as full powers as Cleveland itself. They are not big enough to be interested in a comprehensive city plan. This condition is true of practically every large city in the country."

There are three ways of meeting this difficulty. One is by creating a special metropolitan district to deal with each important problem of the metropolitan area. This method has been most conspicuously used for the Boston area, where there are now the Boston metropolitan park commission, the metropolitan sewage commission and the metropolitan water commission, and where a metropolitan city planning commission is being sought. Even ignoring questions of cost, however, this method fails to insure co-operative management as between the different problems dealt with, and the creation of a greater Boston, which could manage these problems in a unified manner, is, I think, generally admitted by students to be desirable. Perhaps, too, the most hopeful contribution toward clearing the way for this desirable enlargement would be the devising of some practicable plan of limited local government for the various communities which would make up the greater city.

Another method of coping with the difficulty in question is to give cities power to control the layout of land beyond the city limits. In several states power of this sort has been conferred for a distance of from one and one-half to five miles beyond the city limits, and one student of these problems has advocated that this distance be twenty-five miles. The method violates the fundamental principle of representation, however, with respect to such outside territory.

Still another expedient would be a state department which, for meeting the wide-spreading physical problems of a metropolitan district, could require proper co-operation, under its own supervision, between the various cities or towns affected by those problems. Under the British town planning act—the most important piece of city planning legislation in our language—the Local Government Board, a national department, can require such co-operative treatment of city planning problems. It can commission one local authority to deal completely with a city planning scheme extending into the territory of two authorities, or it can require the two authorities to create a joint authority to handle the scheme, the board itself exercising supervision over the way in which either plan is carried out.

The enlarging of the city to match the real metropolitan community is the natural method of dealing advantageously with metropolitan city planning problems. But the need would still exist for some efficient means of dealing with cases of disagreement between adjacent political areas in the same state concerning city planning questions involving them all. For these cases a state department, in some respects similar to the English Local Government Board, is required. Such a department of cities should also promote city planning interests generally in the state.

THE NATION

(4) Cases still remain where the proper development of one community requires in a very definite and immediate way some related development across the line in another state, which development may or may not be beneficial to that state, or some of its communities. Since rivers often serve as state boundaries and also as sites for cities, such cases are not infrequent, and some of them are of great importance from the standpoint of city planning. At present there is no efficient administrative machinery for dealing with them. The recent inquiry in Chicago concerning the Indiana sand dunes was a recognition that the need for such machinery exists. Some adapted federal authority should be provided to meet this need in the best manner possible under existing constitutional conditions.

THE FOUR AREAS SHOULD ACT

To sum up then: The United States is now nearly half urban and is becoming steadily more largely urban. The interests of city planning demand, for the urbanized portions of our country, the operation of a four-fold scheme of political areas, comprising:

(1) The city neighborhood, clothed with power to deal with certain local problems, and enlisting local intelligence and interest.

(2) The city, which should secure administrative co-operation where needed between adjacent neighborhood governments within its boundaries, handle directly and co-ordinately the great city planning problems affecting the community as a whole, and be expanded from time to time so as to be always approximately co-extensive in area with the community itself.

(3) A state department of cities, which should concern itself with the interests of all cities of the state, and particularly have certain powers, after the plan of the English Local Government Board, to require co-operation if necessary between adjacent towns, cities or counties respecting city planning problems affecting them in common.

(4) A National Department of Urban Life which should deal with cases where the city planning interests of one community reach over into another state so as to require co-operation between the two states or between communities in them, and should promote the physical improvement of American cities generally.

A word may be added concerning the proposal that the nation should be the fourth political area to concern itself with the demands of city planning and should accordingly create a department of urban life or some similar agency.

The time has come when the problem of city planning, interpreted according to its true scope, should be recognized as essentially a national

problem, by reason of the fact that it concerns our most fundamental and vital national interests. In the first place it concerns the conditions under which industry and commerce are carried on, and if we are to be a successful industrial and commercial nation, the proper industrial and commercial economies to be realized through the application of intelligent and far-reaching city planning principles must be thrown into the balance in our efforts for conserving our people and in the rivalries of nations.

Not only the economic power of the country, but the ability of the country to maintain itself in case it should ever be put to the ultimate test of war, depend in no small degree upon those home surroundings which, if above standard, mean initiative and resourcefulness among the people, and if below standard mean depressed personal powers and low grade achievements. The bringing of these surroundings up to standard for the rank and file of our city population should be made a national aim, **to be forwarded through city planning science.**

Ultimately the strength and constructive power which a nation can exert is very largely a psychological matter and rests back upon the real interest of the people themselves in their country and their firesides. If this personal devotion is to be realized and is to be made available not alone for social solidarity but for broad national ends, our cities must be made worthy of such devotion from the people who occupy them. Their perfecting should therefore be a national policy.

At the present time city planning legislation awaits action separately by forty-eight different states, most of which have thus far ignored the subject, and no one of which either realizes its importance or is qualified in scope of vision or in resources to deal adequately with it. The nation is the only unit which can so deal with the subject, and its resources and prestige should be enlisted, if not, under our system, in actual administrative control of city planning work, at least in those investigations and frontier experimental studies which are to-day so urgently demanded for the proper development of city planning science, for bringing its importance before our cities generally and for making it available for their use. Think of what the results would be of a million dollars, for example, intelligently devoted at the present time to this subject by the federal government. France is to-day maturing a program for the reconstruction, on a national scale, after the war, of both her devastated and her untouched cities. England is similarly aroused. Can we not, without being driven to it by a war, undertake, as a national task, the internal regeneration of our cities? I emphasize, for city planning purposes, the importance not alone of the three political units, neighborhood, city and state, but likewise of a fourth—the nation.

WHAT HAS BEEN ACCOMPLISHED IN CITY PLANNING DURING THE PAST YEAR

BY GEORGE B. FORD

*New York City*¹

THE past year was one of tremendous significance to the cause of city planning. Of the fifty-odd cities of over one hundred thousand population in the United States, twenty-two have made a distinct and notable contribution, in the past year, to the rapidly increasing volume of city planning history and achievement. Of the cities of from 25,000 to 100,000 population, which number about two hundred, twenty-nine may be counted on the roll of those that have made important and constructive advances in city planning, during the same period. A large number of cities and towns of lesser size have to their credit accomplishments which, in the mass, are not of the least importance. In Canada, despite the preoccupation of the people of the cities with the war, Thomas Adams, town planning adviser of the commission of conservation, reports a widespread interest and activity there, both in the formulation and passage of laws and in organization for constructive work. In Europe, and particularly in France and England, which countries I have had the good fortune to visit in the course of the past three months, city planning is not only alive,—it is making enormous strides as evidenced in the work which I saw under way in Paris, Marseilles, Lyons, Limoges, Rheims, and in London, not to mention numerous lesser places. In India, even, where one would be led to expect but little, British enthusiasm for city planning has roused the great and congested cities, such as Madras, Bombay and Calcutta to a realization of their city planning needs, and we are regularly in receipt of reports of progress being made there—progress which, indeed, would put many of our proud American cities to shame. The city planning movement has never enjoyed a more hopeful, indeed more constructive year than that just past.

It is peculiarly significant—and pregnant with a lesson of the utmost importance—that in the United States nearly 45 per cent of the cities of over 100,000 have taken great forward steps in town planning the past year—as against 15 per cent, less than one sixth, of the cities of lesser size (25,000 to 100,000 population) which show progress. Although it

¹Address delivered at the annual meeting of the National Municipal League, at Springfield, Mass., November 23, 1916. See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. vi, p. 182.

may be said that the larger cities contain a proportionately larger number of persons capable of appreciating and participating in a city planning movement, I believe the conclusion may be safely drawn that the large cities are finding the handicap of haphazard and uncontrolled city development intolerable, and are being forced to undertake scientific planning, at great expense in many cases, out of sheer self-preservation and to retrieve the losses, economic and social, which the piled-up neglect of past years has brought about. For the lesser cities, the lesson of the larger cities is assuming increasing significance. The cities of from 25,000 to 100,000 inhabitants have begun to realize—at least one sixth of them have done so in the past year—that the way to avoid the costly reconstruction, the losses to industry and trade—the social ills and hygienic hardships which follow in the wake of uncontrolled city growth—is to take a firm stand now, as against the day of expansion of trade, of extension of boundaries, of increase of population.

If we scan the record of accomplishment in city planning for the past year, one item in the hundreds that would bear report and analysis here if time permitted, stands out most strikingly. It is New York city's contribution—the districting or zoning ordinance passed by the board of estimate and apportionment in July last. Not since the inauguration of the movement for conscious city planning, back in 1893, has a page of city planning history been written which embodies so many vital and interesting features as the New York districting movement and the resulting ordinance. So much has been written about this and the way in which it was built up, that I must forego more than the briefest reference to this subject. The ordinance itself is a compromise in many respects—it is not drastic enough to serve as a model for other cities—but it embodies all of the principles of the most advanced and comprehensive zoning program. The success attending the New York measure may be attributed to the thorough and unremitting campaign of education which was carried on, for the lack of which city planning has failed so often in America.

As a result of the success of the New York movement, we find that districting work is being organized, or is being actively promoted, or actually carried on, in the following municipalities:

Akron	Elgin	Ottawa
Berkeley	Little Rock	Philadelphia
Chicago	Los Angeles	Sacramento
Baltimore	Milwaukee	St. Louis
Cleveland	Minneapolis	Springfield, Mass.
Des Moines	Newark	Washington, D. C.
East Orange	Omaha	

This is certainly a remarkable showing considering the short space of time in which the movement has been gaining impetus—and one of the greatest significance.

However, during the past year, districting as a part of city planning has occupied public attention largely to the exclusion of the other aspects of the city planning problem, for much that is truly noteworthy has been done in other fields in the course of the past twelve months. Comprehensive city plans, varying enormously, however, in intrinsic merit and practical adaptability to actual conditions, are under way or have been prepared for the following cities:

Akron	Elgin	Omaha
Allentown	Johnstown	Ottawa, Ontario
Bayonne	Lawrence	Pasadena
Birmingham	Milwaukee	Pueblo
Brantford, Ontario	Minneapolis	Sacramento
East Boston, Mass.	Newark	St. Louis
East Orange	Oakland and Berkeley	South Philadelphia
Detroit		

These plans cover all or a large number of the special phases of the city plan, including the street system, land subdivisions, transportation, waterfront improvement, parks, recreation, etc. The plans for Ottawa, for Oakland and Berkeley, and for Newark, are remarkable examples of the most advanced practice in investigation and planning, and that for Ottawa is presented in one of the most beautifully printed and illustrated reports yet published in America.

This brief review of the city planning accomplishment of the past year would, however, not be complete without a reference to the special studies on city planning problems made for various cities throughout America by city planners and landscape architects. Among the most notable are the following:

Boston, markets
 Cambridge, study of building development, etc.
 Camden, street replanning
 Cleveland, street and bridge improvements
 Denver, revision of the civic center plan
 Fitchburg, study of main thoroughfares and street system
 Holyoke, street planning studies
 Madison, recreation survey and plan
 Milwaukee, general survey and report
 Peoria, streets and parks
 Providence, plan for capitol site and thoroughfares
 San Francisco, new plan for the exposition site
 Springfield, control of billboard advertising, recreation
 Vancouver, civic center plan

Site planning, particularly for the provision of home sites on a large scale, has been undertaken by private enterprise in many cities, under the direction of town planners or landscape architects, during the past year. In this connection, also, special studies have been made for the housing of workingmen. In this class, the following are particularly noteworthy, as having been consummated in the past year:

Akron, Firestone park development
Bridgeport, housing studies for the chamber of commerce
Duluth, Morgan park, for the U. S. Steel Corporation
Midland, Pa., townsite for industrial plant
Ojibway, Canada, new town for the U. S. Steel Corporation
Passaic, Allwood garden village for the Brighton mills
Washington, D. C., Ellen Wilson memorial homes development
Waterbury, housing studies for local committee
Kenosha, housing development plan for local organization

These garden village or housing developments are not the least important of the town planning problems which have been under way or completed in the past year, for in this branch of city planning, we find an increasing opportunity to achieve permanent and notable results in the rectification of haphazard development on the perimeter of our rapidly growing cities.

Turning now to city planning legislation, we find an unprecedented activity throughout America among semi-public or official bodies, and in the legislatures of many states. In the past year, the following have been particularly active in the promotion, drafting or passage of laws or ordinances for city planning:

- (a) California, permissive law for the appointment of city planning commissions.
Massachusetts, law providing for the appointment of boards of survey, with control over platting.
Pennsylvania, permissive law for appointment of a districting commission in cities of the first class.
Indiana, energetic steps for securing the passage of a city planning law.
- (b) Ordinances in Akron, Bayonne, East Orange, Johnstown, Mansfield (Ohio), Mt. Vernon, Santa Monica (Calif.), Toledo, creating city planning commissions under state permissive laws. In Cincinnati, strenuous efforts by public-spirited citizens to secure appointive ordinance.
- (c) Ordinances in Berkeley, New York and Sacramento, making districting control effective. Ordinances in Philadelphia, Minneapolis, creating districting commissions. Energetic steps being taken in St. Louis, St. Paul and Washington, D. C., to secure the advantages of districting control.

In Canada, the provinces Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, Ontario, Quebec, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia, have secured provincial town planning acts based on the English town planning act of 1909, or are taking energetic steps to secure the passage of acts, and the cities of

Vancouver, Edmonton, Calgary, Winnipeg, Toronto, Ottawa, St. John, are at work under such acts or are preparing to start on town planning pending the passage of acts.

The above remarkable record of a year's advance in city planning would not be complete without reference to recent developments in propagandist work for city planning during the past year. Perhaps the most interesting matter in this field is the conference of national organizations for co-operative endeavor in city planning which met for the second time at the National Conference on City Planning, Cleveland, last June. At its meeting, a committee was appointed from among the delegates to study the possibilities of securing a national bureau for city planning and municipal investigation. Another development in this field in the past year, is the launching of the federation of Massachusetts planning boards, an accomplishment of which much could be said regarding its possibilities for promoting wider interest and constructive planning throughout the state. In Pennsylvania, Texas, California and other states, we find leagues of city planning commissions, meeting at regular periods to discuss the problems of city planning and to foster legislation and create public interest in the work.

All of us here present are keenly appreciative of the worth, even the vital necessity, of comprehensive planning for our towns and even for our counties and states. We cannot help but be inspired by the splendid showing which the nations of the world, and, in particular, our own country, have made during the last year. To those of us who have been at work in city planning during the past year, and who have come gradually to a realization of its great importance, it is our duty, I will say more, it is our privilege to spread the gospel far and wide throughout the land. A great campaign of education of the general public to the urgency of planning, either through the medium of a national bureau of city planning or through private organizations, is vitally necessary. It falls to our lot to see this through.

CITY PLANNING PROGRESS¹

CINCINNATI: ALFRED BETTMAN

We took the need of city planning for granted, so we formed a joint civic committee on city planning, and as the cities of Ohio did not have any power to create city planning boards, the first thing to do was to draft and have the legislature pass a statute on the subject; which was done. The statute was so framed as to fit all forms of government which might be in existence in the various cities of Ohio, and, I believe, has been referred to with considerable praise by men who are professionally engaged in city planning. The woman's city club of Cincinnati was active in pushing the bill through the legislature. Although the statute had been written and promoted by Cincinnatians, the city council of Cincinnati refused to create a commission as provided by the statute. Other cities in Ohio, however, gladly availed themselves of the opportunity afforded by the statute. The Cincinnati council objected to that portion of the statute which required a two-thirds vote in council for any departure from the city plan after the city plan had been laid out by the planning commission. They seemed to feel that this was an interference with the prerogatives of council. Thereupon the mayor of the city was induced to appoint a non-official commission, the basis of selection of members to be the same as provided for in the statute for an official commission. This non-official commission has no powers nor funds; but it is at work. It invited Mr. Adams, the Canadian expert, to come to Cincinnati and discuss the work of the commission. Mr. Adams made a great impression, and it looked as though the enthusiasm might be productive of funds and results, when one of the commissioners, a lawyer and city official, raised the question of the constitutionality in the United States of the sort of city planning which Mr. Adams had been so successfully describing. This question of constitutionality is often a great dampener, and I fear it was so on this occasion. So I sincerely trust that Mr. Whitten's prophecies will prove true and the constitutionality of the New York zoning ordinances will be upheld. I believe that districting and the other features of a city planning scheme will generally be upheld by the courts, when the legislation is the result of a comprehensive and scientific study. For the courts have really gone no further than to exclude districting or other regulations for purely esthetic purposes or the arbitrary selection of a district or zone. A comprehensive city plan, based on a thorough,

¹ Being the report of the discussion of the city planning papers read at the Springfield meeting of the National Municipal League and the Massachusetts federation of planning boards.

expert study and upon the promotion of the health, safety and comfort of the whole community, will surely sooner or later—and probably sooner—be upheld by the supreme court of the United States as a modern form of the regulation of the use of private property for the promotion of general public safety, health, comfort and welfare: especially as it can be demonstrated, if the ordinance is based upon a thorough study of the situation, that the effect of a city planning ordinance will tend to be toward the stabilizing of values, rather than of destroying or diminishing values. So I do not believe this constitutional question need put a damper on the enthusiasm or energy of any city planning commission.

DALLAS, TEXAS: CHARLES SAVILLE²

The city planning meetings held here in Springfield during the past week have been especially interesting and helpful to me, because down in Texas we have many rapidly growing communities which need some form of organized planning for their best development.

That Texas municipalities have not been slow to appreciate this need is shown by the existence, at the present time, of two state-wide organizations: one, the "Texas town and city planning association," the purpose of which is to educate public opinion in the importance of well ordered civic improvements; the other, "The league of Texas municipalities," which has for its aim increased efficiency in municipal administration. Both of these organizations have rapidly growing memberships, and they hold one or more well attended conventions each year.

Several of the large cities of Texas have already employed city planning experts to work out a comprehensive scheme of civic development to meet their local conditions, and in one or two instances considerable constructive work has actually been carried out; but thus far there has been no provision made, in any instance, for a permanent non-partisan city planning board whose duty it should be to see that each succeeding administration accomplishes some definite part of the comprehensive plan of development which shall have been worked out in advance as a guide for the proper growth of the community.

We in Dallas realize that such a board, properly organized and financed, can be made a tremendously important factor in the development of our city, and we are now engaged in the preliminary work of developing public opinion along these lines.

THE BRIDGEPORT SITUATION: DR. JOHN NOLEN, CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

I am sorry to say that the story of Bridgeport is still largely on paper. The report of the city planning commission is in press and will be in circulation, I think, within a week. The real campaign for doing things, there-

² Director of public health.

fore, has hardly begun, and yet it is interesting to note several things that have already happened, although the report and recommendations have not yet really been made public.

One is with regard to the grouping of public buildings in the civic center. Bridgeport is far too centralized; it is being packed into too little space,—a space inadequate for its down town business. We were able to show in our plans the location which would be the logical place to expand to. We got the committee's approval of that site, and already one public board (the library) has voted to move in that direction. It will afford an immense relief to the congestion on the main street. There are other problems, such as whether we can overcome the forces that stand in the way of the construction of an approach and bridge at State street, which I think is the most necessary of all the improvements. The other improvement that I regard as fundamentally important is the matter of industrial housing. As a direct result of the city planning activities, the chamber of commerce taking the initiative, a permanent Bridgeport housing company has been formed, working in combination with the chamber of commerce and with the city plan commission, and with other bodies having much the same point of view. A half a million dollars has already been subscribed. We expect that another half a million will follow, and that at least two million dollars' worth of workmen's houses will be constructed. The business men have decided to go permanently into the business of fixing housing standards and of providing a better supply of homes for wage-earners, and if possible they will reach down to the lowest paid workers in the town.

Walpole, I believe, is not represented here by any member of its planning board. I shall speak of it, because I have been the adviser on the town plan, and I think the progress of the smaller towns and cities is important. The work began about three years ago. The town plan was adopted in March, 1914, by vote of the town, and an educational campaign carried on to promote general interest. Safeguarding regulations were adopted, including the betterment act, the board of survey act, the reserve space act, concurrent jurisdiction, authority for the town planning board to act as park commission, and the tenement house act. A compilation of laws was also made, and the preparation of a topographical survey carried through.

There were some nineteen or twenty physical improvements executed, including the widening of the main streets, the establishment of building lines, the acquisition of park lands, the inauguration of an improved civic center development, the enlargement and improvement of school grounds, the development of playgrounds, and a five-year program of systematic street changes.

One notable town planning improvement came through the gift of 175 acres adjoining the high school, as a town forest. The town appropriated

\$9,500 toward development, and 16,000 trees have been planted, 1,000 being set by the school children. The complete plan includes an amphitheatre, swimming pool, playgrounds, etc.

Organization and administration have not been neglected. A competent civil engineer has been engaged, a Walpole 1920 committee formed, the study of town government begun, activity by board of trade increased, and co-operation secured of a real estate association. This program of town planning and town development by Walpole, with a population of only 5,600, is an illustration of what a small town can do.

SPRINGFIELD, MASS.: CHARLES H. PARSONS

Ladies and gentlemen: I want to take this occasion to thank the members of all the out of town planning boards for their attendance here in Springfield, and for the many kind expressions which I have received since I have been here, which I desire not to accept individually, but on behalf of our board as a whole. We have appreciated your presence, and we thank you all for coming.

We have heard this morning about local city building lines and assessments. I want to, as briefly as I can, describe our experience here in Springfield on the practical side of assessment of betterments. I think that those who drove around the city this morning, as a great many of you doubtless did, must appreciate that Springfield has many problems in re-planning, and the impression made upon our city planning board when we first organized three years ago, after making a careful survey of the probable necessary changes during the next few years, was that we must find some way to finance these changes without breaking the city. Under the old way the Springfield city government had gone along for a great many years adopting changes under the assessment act, but never remembering to collect the assessments. We called the attention of our board of aldermen as sharply as possible to this condition and what it meant; that it was both misleading and expensive. We persisted in calling the attention of this board to the matter, to an extent that finally called forth an official rebuke.

About this time there was a matter which came to the attention of the public in the extension of Hillman street. It was announced by those interested that here was a very necessary public improvement, and it was heralded with much enthusiasm by the interested property owners. The proposition was made asking the city to put through this new extension. This was passed and approved by the board of public works at an estimated cost of a little over \$62,000. It passed the board of aldermen without a dissenting vote, and under the rule which had practically been established, assessments would have been forgotten. The spotlight was

turned on this enterprise by some of us, and we succeeded in having the scheme held up in the common council and voted down. To make a long story short, the property owners then got together and voluntarily assessed themselves over \$35,000 as a contribution towards this enterprise. Notwithstanding this object lesson and the fact that the business men and property owners themselves have learned to appreciate the justice of the assessment of betterments, yet in October, 1915, the assessments on both our new underpasses, which most of you will remember having seen and which have cost the city over half a million dollars, were allowed to lapse without a hand being raised. I think it is a fair question as a citizen of this community to ask "Why?"

There has been a growing demand for the widening of Dwight street from the railroad to State street, a distance of half a mile. This subject has been agitated for some time, and about a year ago a large mass meeting was called at the board of trade, which was attended by over one hundred people—mostly property owners. I was asked to speak at this mass meeting, and I voiced the opinion of the city planning commission that that enterprise would not be undertaken in Springfield until the property owners were ready to contribute a very substantial proportion of the expense, and the reasons given were thought good by the property owners present. Shortly after that a movement was started to get the property owners together and make an offer to the city to contribute towards the cost of this enterprise. At last night's meeting of the city council our board of public works reported recommending that this project be carried through at an estimated cost of over a million dollars. There were received and placed in the hands of the city, with the report, agreements on the part of the property owners along the way aggregating considerably over fifty per cent of all the abutters, in which they agreed if the work was carried out that they would pay the city a sum equal to \$160 per front foot on their holdings. Now, if this amount is collected, these agreements are exercised, and the remaining property owners are assessed a similar amount, the total amount of assessments along the right of way is estimated at \$646,173, over half of which is already pledged in writing. It has been estimated that the fragments of land left will be worth to the city \$113,000. This added to the assessment of \$646,000 would bring the net cost on their figures down to \$508,000. This \$646,000 can be materially added to by assessments along our side streets between Dwight and Main streets, and I think it is safe to say that, if this plan is carried out, city planning in Springfield, and city planning in Massachusetts, is entitled to be credited with at least seven hundred thousand dollars on the right side.

Now, that is what we think is real city planning in Springfield, and we think that city planning of that kind is a good deal better for a municipal government than being a good fellow.

CLEVELAND, OHIO: ALLEN T. BURNS

Mr. Chairman and delegates: There is just one thing about city planning that is getting rubbed in by public experience through the country, and I am saying this for the benefit of our friend from Cincinnati, that the lesson has been borne in upon me more and more that the making of city plans, except by those who are going to carry them out, involves a very large waste of perfectly good private funds. I think the thing that the cities of our country are gradually awakening to is that city plans cannot be self-imposed upon self-governing communities. If we have not the powers in our cities to have city planning boards with large governmental possibilities, then it seems to me the next best thing to do is to get such authority for our public officials or to persuade them to organize themselves, as an extra legal city planning board. That seems to me to go back to some of the fundamentals of self-government; that self-government is gradually going to work itself out. I suggest to public-spirited citizens who are interested in putting money in city planning, that we find some way to put it in through city officials. If the appropriations from the city are not sufficient, then it would be a good thing for us to make contributions to the boards, but let us not think that we can make the plan and expect to have it accepted ready-made by the city.

I think our friend means Cincinnati has not any power to adopt the city planning board. That is because Cincinnati has not been able or seen fit to take advantage of its city government or home rule charter. Cleveland is just in the situation of a city with the power but without the means. Some of us who are very much interested have taken a rather solemn resolve that if private means are to be used rather than public means, they can be used only through the direction of our public planning board.

I am sure that in that direction lies a much bigger promise of having something come after our city plans are made than by the very best plans that might be devised by private organization.

CHAIRMAN GEORGE B. FORD

Mr. Burns has just stirred up a contentious subject, and there are many who do not agree with him on that. Particularly is this true in smaller towns where it is difficult to find the right sort of spirit or personnel in the governing bodies to develop or put into effect city planning. In some of the larger cities plans which have come from outside have proved the ones which have been ultimately adopted. For example, in Chicago, the Chicago commercial club developed their remarkable plans: a private body, and yet these are the plans which are being put into effect in Chicago. A lot of us feel that it is so difficult to get legislation started

that it is oftentimes necessary to go through a long campaign of education and publicity before we can get the city authorities to develop city plans, and that the very working out of plans with the discussion on the part of the public which they arouse has been of value and may be made of profit, all so highly desirable in order to get city planning really started.

I am not going to speak any more about this myself, but if there is anyone else who wants to speak on this subject we would be glad to hear from him. Is there anybody who would like to speak on this subject?

BROCKTON, MASS.: WILLARD F. JACKSON

I was not able to report at the previous meeting we had at the hotel, but at Brockton this year we have run up against a very serious condition. We tried to put through what would be a connecting link in our thoroughfare leading from the railroad station into the west of the city, which is the principal or more highly developed residential section. We had very little difficulty in securing the co-operation of our aldermen and councilmen, but when it came to a question of seizure there were two remonstrants who had their lawyer there, and he started out to state that the special act passed by the legislature was unconstitutional, basing his opinion on a law passed in 1904, and it was declared unconstitutional I think in 1910 by the supreme court. We were rather well prepared for that, and we knocked his arguments to smithereens, and then subsequently the last order was passed and the mayor approved it. Then it came to a question of disposing of the bonds. Instead of carrying out the usual procedure of making out the bonds and offering them to the bond houses, and the bond houses then, of course, exercising their right to look up the legality of the issue, somebody put a flea in the city treasurer's ear that he ought to get the opinion of some Boston lawyers as to the constitutionality of it. This is the letter which was addressed to the city treasurer: "We have considered your question relating to the issue of bonds by your city under the Act of 1913, chapter 169, as amended by the Special Act of 1916, chapter 357. The statute provides that the city may, for the purpose of extending a certain highway, take certain specified land defined by the statute as being strips of certain specified depths on either side of the proposed highway. It then goes on to provide that the city may sell such part of the land so taken as is not needed for the highway. The question arises whether this statute which authorizes the city to take land outside of what it needs for a highway and to sell it is constitutional. The supreme court of the United States has said: 'It is fundamental in American jurisprudence that private property cannot be taken by the government, national or state, except for purposes which are of a public character, although such taking be accompanied by compensation to the owner. That principle, this court has said, grows out of essential nature of all free governments.' Any state enactment in violation of

these principles is inconsistent with the due process of law prescribed by the Fourteenth Amendment. In an opinion which the justices of the supreme court of the state gave to the House of Representatives in 1910, it was said that the taking of land was not justified unless the taking was for a public use, and that a taking of land adjoining a proposed highway so that it might be sold to individuals for commercial purposes would not be for a public use. Accordingly, if the land taken is not to be used for the highway or for some other public purpose, but is bought to be sold, the taking would seem to be for a private and not a public use, and so would be in violation of the constitution of the United States. The fact that the public may profit by the purchase and sale of the land does not make the taking a taking for a public use, and the right of the individual not to have his land taken from him seems to be protected by the federal constitution until the public wishes to put the land itself to a public use. We feel, therefore, that it is at least doubtful whether the statute authorizing your city to take and sell more land than it needs for the highway is constitutional. An amendment of the Massachusetts constitution recently adopted intended to authorize some such taking, but this cannot override a prohibition contained in the federal constitution. If the part of the statute which attempts to authorize the taking of more land than is necessary is void, we think that the rest of the statute must fall with it, and that it would be unsafe to act under that part of the statute which authorized the issue of bonds."

Now the purpose for which the city desires to take more land than is necessary for the street is what underlies the whole idea of excess condemnation. In the location where we wanted this extension, about two thirds of the improvement went through the center of certain tracts of land. That meant that we had what we would call slices of cheese on each side; that is, little remnants which were of themselves of no commercial value. However, in order to protect the future development of the street it would be necessary to have building plots on each side which would be available for purchase. Then, to further complicate the situation in Brockton, these little narrow pieces of land would come between the proposed street and part of a little private way. The fee belonged to the owner of the original tract, and left a very serious condition if we should open the street and take only the land for the street, for the reason that anyone going in there and taking a lot would have to deal with the owners of the fee in a private way, and then to get a sufficient depth would have to deal with the owner of land on the other side of the right of way. However, in spite of our attempt to do this and not to begot the public mind, they got this gratuitous opinion that it was unconstitutional. They tried to claim that it was unconstitutional under the Massachusetts provision, but I think the lawyer who advanced that argument was a little off. As matters now are, they are left dangling in the air. But we are

making use of what might be termed the "Four W's"; Woodrow Wilson's Watchful Waiting, and we think that about the beginning of next year when a new administration comes in we may be able to get some action started, and then get some of our citizens to enjoin that action, and then get it into the court and have the constitutionality of it decided once for all.

MALDEN, MASS.: HENRY CARMICHAEL

I did not expect to say a word and am not prepared, and am, therefore, obliged to say something as I go along. Malden, as you know, is a very old and conservative community: older as a city than the city of Boston, for the reason that when Blackstone was herding his cattle there it was a somewhat popular community. Now, the old conservatism enters into every project that is made for public improvement. It has never been a dream town. It has never been depressed in business matters. It has slowly pursued its way, receiving large contributions from the great nearby city of those who merely used Malden as a sleeping place, and a very attractive sleeping place it is, and it is right at the edge of Middlesex county and of great natural beauty.

We have a very enterprising board of trade, of which I have the good fortune to be a member, and as a director and vice-president I was requested to come here and listen, not expecting to say anything. But I might say I have the sympathy to a great degree of the men who represent the Malden planning board.

We have accomplished what to us amounts to a good deal through the last year and preceding years. We have located industries, the buildings of which represent half a million dollars. We have connected up our squares by cutting off the angles of intersecting streets. We have improved our highways. I remember years ago the question came up where a street could be found for seriously testing the springs of an automobile, and I expressed the opinion that we had a street that would smash most any automobile spring. The roads were so rutty and the holes were so deep that we could be pretty sure of breaking any spring. Now the road is as smooth as this floor.

There is a systematic plan of improvements. We are about to open a new road which will cut through the slums, and it is a part of a systematic planning for the city. We hope and believe there will be a score of new industries located in Malden within a short time.

I have been interested in learning if there was not a good way to provide residences for humble workers. I have yet to hear of a solution of this problem. How can there be a successful city plan without providing the men with homes; homes where they can rear their children under wholesome conditions at an expense of say eight dollars a month? The problem is easy enough in a suburban city if one will pay twenty or twenty-

one dollars, but when one gets down to eight dollars a month the problem is very serious. I would like to hear if there are delegates here from New Jersey or Pennsylvania who can tell us about how they can house the poor laborers in brick or concrete houses at an expense of eight or ten dollars per month; houses of six rooms and practically non-combustible. Of course, the individual house can be burned out, but when they are in blocks the destruction of one will not involve the others. About the great cities of Pennsylvania you see great areas covered with brick and concrete houses. Here in Malden we have to provide houses of wood, and all the conditions permitting general conflagrations like those of Chelsea and Salem and other places are present.

SALEM, MASS.: HARLAN P. KELSEY

In Salem, the city planning board drafted the first housing ordinance or code to be adopted by a Massachusetts city so far as I know. Recently we have successfully defended some of its provisions questioned by city authorities and others. It took several stiff fights but they are not going to mutilate it any more, and we are now on the upward trend for a better code.

We are redeeming Salem's waterfront and providing real thoroughfares. Work costing hundreds of thousands of dollars is going on to-day. Many of our plans, made before the fire, are now being carried out by the rebuilding commission, the county commissioners and the street department. The planning board is now working on more comprehensive plans, and is being consulted more and more by the city government and by the rebuilding commission; and all matters that properly should come before us are given a hearing. Salem has a live planning board.

We believe publicity is absolutely essential and so are carrying on a campaign of illustrated lectures in the grammar schools of the city; in the high and normal schools, and in nearly every church club in the city. Thus the young people are being educated so that in five or ten years when they grow up we are going to have a cinch on city planning in Salem. That is one of the most important rôles our city planning board should undertake—a campaign of education. We are working with the chamber of commerce and civics, a body which is backing up many of our projects. If you go through Salem next year you will not be stopped by a policeman and have to wait for twenty or thirty or more automobiles to get out of the way for the most important section of our magnificent "shore" boulevard through the city will be done. Our plans may be seen in nearly every room in Salem city hall and thus we are educating, unconsciously perhaps, not only the city government, but all citizens who go into the city hall.

THE METHODS OF FINANCING CITY PLANNING PROJECTS¹

BY NELSON P. LEWIS²

New York

IN CONSIDERING methods of financing city planning projects it is important that a clear idea be had as to what city planning projects mean. In discussing this subject the term will be broadly construed and will not be confined to the more spectacular plans, such as the creation of civic centers, the location of important public buildings, the development of a system of parks and parkways and the working out of a consistent scheme of restrictions as to the use of public and private property. City planning projects will be deemed to include the entire development and carrying out of the structural plan of a city; the location of transportation lines connecting the city with other parts of the country; provision for adequate terminal facilities for and connections between such lines; the determination of the main traffic arteries, so located as to permit the development of an economical scheme of main drainage and to afford direct, though not necessarily straight, lines of communication between different parts of the city and with the contiguous territory; the establishment of secondary lines of communication tributary to the main lines and reaching every portion of the city; the planning of residential areas in such a manner that natural features will not be destroyed, that needless expense for construction will be avoided, and that plots will be available, not only for ambitious homes with ample space, but for the more modest cottages, where the owner need not be obliged to purchase more than the necessary land or pay for the improvement of streets of a greater width than may be required to serve local needs. It will include provision for parks and playgrounds so located that they will be readily accessible, but will be so selected as to provide needed facilities for recreation with a minimum of expenditure of the public funds; the location of the chief and subordinate public buildings with due regard both for convenience and sightliness; an adequate system of transportation in the streets of the city which will insure rapid and comfortable movement between different sections of the city and will tend to distribute population and avoid congestion.

Before such comprehensive planning is undertaken there should be a well-defined policy as to the manner in which the execution of the plan is to be financed. Ambitious projects are frequently discussed, elaborate

¹ A paper presented at the meeting of the National Municipal League, Springfield, November 25, 1916.

² Chief engineer, New York bureau of public improvements.

plans are made, the drawings showing them are put on exhibition and admired, and those responsible for them are complimented until some taxpayer asks the pertinent question as to what it is going to cost and how the funds are to be provided. The enthusiasm which has been developed quickly subsides. The plans are laid aside and are soon forgotten, and in due course of time another group of citizens, realizing that the town is not as attractive and convenient as it should be, inaugurates another campaign for improvement, experts are called in, other studies are made, and finally the same question is asked with the same result. Should the taxpayers be willing to provide the necessary funds to carry out one or more of the projects included in a plan made in this way, it is often found that the city lacks the power to undertake such improvements, and legislation is required. The character of this legislation is likely to be the subject of much debate and, if its provisions are finally agreed upon and its enactment is secured, it is commonly found to be so specific in its provisions that it is not adapted to the carrying out of any other project than the one in mind at the time, if, indeed, it is not specifically limited to such project.

Comprehensive and simple statutory provisions under which the city or town may develop its plan are as essential as the plan itself and, while such statutes should so be drawn as to prevent reckless expenditure during a period of enthusiasm, they should allow as large a measure of home rule and local independence as may be consistent with protection of the municipality against its own folly or unwise enthusiasm. This is usually accomplished by prohibitions against the incurring of indebtedness in excess of a fixed percentage of the assessed value of taxable real estate, against a rate of taxation exceeding a certain percentage of such assessed values and against special assessments which shall be more than a certain proportion of the assessed or actual value of the property which may be assessed.

Improvements of the kind under consideration may be classified as those which are strictly local in their benefit,—and by the word “local” is meant those which are designed to serve the needs of the abutting property or that in the immediate neighborhood,—those which involve both local benefit and a certain degree of general benefit to the entire community and those which are almost wholly of general benefit, although they may result in an enhancement of values in the immediate vicinity, while it must be admitted that in some instances they may tend to depreciate local values.

In small towns the creation of a public square about which the business of the community will center will be an improvement of general public benefit and it may reasonably be contended that the town itself should meet the expense. The most valuable property will be that fronting upon or in the immediate vicinity of this public square, so that, if its creation

or improvement results in special benefit to the surrounding property, that property will bear a correspondingly larger part of the burden. As the town grows and as other main streets or other centers of activity are needed there will still be some general benefit, but a large degree of local benefit. The effect upon the property in their neighborhood will be proportionately greater and more exclusive than in the case of the first center or the one main street, but the entire community will still feel the benefit of the improvement and the town can still afford to contribute a substantial portion of the expense. As the city grows every improvement which may be undertaken will involve more local and less general benefit and the time will soon come when the city as a whole is slightly, if at all, benefited by the creation and improvement of a new street or even a new public place or small park. It will be necessary to determine in each of these cases how much of the cost which is involved shall be assessed upon the property directly benefited and what proportion, if any, shall be borne by the entire city. This will require the exercise of great discretion and impartial judgment and the apportionment of the expense should be determined in a consistent manner in each instance through some board or body having a continuing existence, the members having overlapping terms, in order that there may be continuity of policy and no radical changes from year to year. If it be granted that a portion of the cost of all improvements where local benefit is involved should be assessed upon the property which will enjoy this benefit, the question which next arises is how shall the city or town meet the proportion of the cost which may be assumed by it as representing a general or community benefit. The easiest way to provide these funds is by borrowing, and the longer the term for which a loan can be made the less will be the apparent burden upon the general taxpayer. "If the next generation is to enjoy the benefit of this improvement," it is frequently argued, "why not let the next generation pay for it? We, in our wisdom, have provided it for them and have thereby contributed our share." The longer the term of the loan the less will be the rate of interest and the annual provision for the amortization of the debt when it falls due. Let us see what this means. Fifty-year bonds will doubtless carry not more than 4 or $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent interest. Their amortization on a 3 per cent basis will, according to generally accepted annuity tables, involve a yearly contribution of 0.89 per cent. This means that the community will ultimately pay for every \$1,000 of borrowed money the sum of \$2,695, or \$53.90 a year, in the case of $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent bonds; or a total of \$2,445, or at the rate of \$48.90 a year in the case of 4 per cent bonds. If the term of the loan be reduced to 15 years, $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent bonds, with provision for a sinking fund for their amortization, will involve the payment for each \$1,000 of \$1,482, or \$98.80 a year, while in case the loan is for the still briefer period of 10 years the public will pay for each \$1,000, \$1,322, or at the rate of \$132.20

a year. When an individual has not the cash and needs something he is often justified in borrowing the money to pay for it, but prudence would require that he see his way clear to pay off the debt within the life of the article he is to purchase. Inasmuch as the kind of improvements we are now discussing have an almost indefinite life, it may be argued that the payment of the debt can be indefinitely deferred. When, however, we consider the great number of enterprises which the modern city must undertake, the annual burden required to meet the city's obligations on long-term bonds and to maintain the city's credit will be cumulative and will in time become a very serious burden upon the taxpayers. New York city has been financing many great projects by the issue of 50-year bonds,—in some instances improvements such as pavement renewals, the life of which may be but 10 or 15 years, have been paid for in this way,—until the debt service, or the sums needed to meet interest and sinking funds, amounted to nearly 40 per cent of the annual tax budget. The city was finally obliged to adopt a pay-as-you-go policy. As by far the largest part of its bonded debt is in the form of long-term bonds issued within the last 15 years, the amount required for the debt service will decrease very slowly while the rate of taxation must increase as a result of the new policy. The people of New York have already become the posterity which it was thought should pay for the improvements they were to enjoy. Unfortunately many of those for which they are now paying have long ago disappeared, and in the case of street pavements several successive pavements on the same street have been worn out and replaced before they were paid for. A city's credit should be used sparingly and long-term bonds are justified only when the margin of borrowing capacity is ample, or to pay for improvements which may confidently be expected to become self-sustaining.

It has already been pointed out that, as a city increases in size, the creation and improvement of new streets, provision for adequate drainage, the establishment of parks and parkways and even the location and suitable grouping of public buildings will result in more local and less general benefit. Such local benefit may be considered exclusive with respect to streets of ordinary width and the sewers which will serve the abutting property. If a street be given a greater width than is required for strictly local use, the benefit will be extended, but can still be localized, while the cases are rare in which the benefit to the city-at-large will exceed that to the locality. The same is true with respect to small parks and even with respect to the location of public buildings, which are quite certain to encourage better development and enhance values in their immediate vicinity.

The fundamental principle which the writer desires to emphasize is that, wherever an improvement of any kind will result in local benefit, that fact should be recognized by the imposition of a fair proportion of the

cost upon the property so affected, and that the owners of such property should not be enriched at the expense of the entire community and through no act of theirs, unless it be the exercise of such influence as they may possess to induce the city authorities to locate a park or undertake some other improvement in their neighborhood at the public expense. If such a policy be adopted and adhered to consistently, it will enable many towns to undertake and finance what are commonly known as city planning projects which would have to be abandoned or indefinitely postponed, or which would be out of the question if their entire cost were to be met by the city-at-large either through an issue of bonds or by general taxation. Emphasis also should be placed upon the need of a definite policy in this respect before the planning of such improvements is undertaken, as such plans, their scope and scale, will inevitably be affected by the assurance that they can be financed. While this is a reversal of the usual order of procedure, it must be conceded that in public as well as in private business the end, or at least the way in which the end can be reached, should be in sight from the beginning.

THE COMMUNITY TRUST

BY HUGH JACKSON REBER

Chicago

THE community trust movement is significant because it indicates the awakening of thinking citizens to a realization of a great civic need existing to-day, the need for a machinery whereby endowment funds may be safeguarded and applied forever to the changing requirements of the public good. The two great aims of the community trust are these: first, to offer a certain and permanent means whereby the income of endowment funds may be directed to meet the most urgent needs of each generation, and, second, to increase the popularity of this form of charitable bequest so that the endowments may become an ever-growing factor for community improvement.

Especially significant is the belief that under existing conditions there is available for endowments only a small percentage of the money that might be expected if more attractive conditions were provided for prospective donors. The records of the past endowments are filled with examples showing that planning for a perpetual benefit is one of the most difficult tasks conceivable. Each generation has its own needs of varying importance, and each has its own method of meeting them. The methods and aims of one generation are almost certain to be more or less inapplicable to the requirements of succeeding generations, and more significant yet is the fact that each generation must distribute its own burden and plan for itself in order to secure co-ordination in community enterprises. There is no better example of the lack of and need for united planning than our past endowments, in witness whereof may be cited Philadelphia's alleged over-supply of hospitals. So it happens that the establishing of an endowment is generally attended with great difficulties, if not uncertainties, and that this form of giving is not in favor.

THE CLEVELAND TRUST

The origin of the new idea was in 1913 when Frederick H. Goff, president of the Cleveland trust company, proposed a plan whereby his trust company might agree to accept gifts to constitute a community foundation or trust, the income of which might be expended for the advancement of the social interests of the community in a manner to be determined each year by a representative committee. The proposal was at once received with hearty commendation by great numbers of public-spirited citizens, and on January 2, 1914, a formal resolution was passed by the company's board of directors, putting the plan in actual operation.

The first two years of the fund's existence have resulted in gifts and pledges amounting to more than \$30,000,000. Now in infancy this new institution promises to return more than a million dollars each year for community betterment. What this vast source of income will mean to a city of 600,000 inhabitants can scarcely be conceived. Even now the responsibilities of the committee in charge of disbursing the income are felt to be so great that a comprehensive survey of local conditions and needs is being undertaken. If confidence in the fund continues, it must eventually grow to many times its present size.

During the year 1914 no other community trusts were established, but in 1915 the success of the original plan became generally known and in six large cities of the country trust companies undertook to follow Cleveland's example. These cities are St. Louis, Spokane, Chicago, Milwaukee, Los Angeles, and Boston. In January, 1916, a somewhat altered form of foundation was established in Indianapolis. Community trusts are being considered in a number of other cities to-day.

As might be expected, the form of organization of the "Cleveland foundation" served as a model for most of the others; especially in St. Louis, Spokane, Chicago and Milwaukee. The Los Angeles and Indianapolis trusts include radically new features.

In the Cleveland plan the power to expend the income of the fund is vested in a committee of five, a member being appointed each year, to serve without compensation for five years. One member is appointed by the city's chief executive, one by the senior judge of the federal district court, one by the senior judge of the probate court, and two by the board of directors of the trust company. The committee's expenses are paid out of the fund, though its permanent secretary is selected by the trust company. The committee has no power over the management of the trust; it is responsible merely for disposing of the yearly net income reported to it by the trust company trustee.

It is provided that the principal may be expended to a limited extent only when the committee and the directors of the trust company agree. A two-thirds vote of the directors is necessary. Donations to the fund may or may not indicate a particular use to be made of the gift in question, but in any event the wishes of the donor may be set aside. In this matter also the directors must approve the action of the committee. A majority vote of the directors is required. The powers of the trust company as trustee of the foundation are very great. Unless limited by the terms of the donation, it may invest and reinvest as it sees fit and in any form of security, loan or real estate. In return for its services, it receives such compensation as it may for itself determine to be due. It is empowered also to list for taxation the amount of the foundation in spite of laws exempting such funds.

In case any essential part of the plan for expending the moneys of the foundation is set aside by action of the courts, the directors of the trust company are vested with the authority given the committee, or if the defect can be remedied, the directors shall reconstruct the organization so that it may as nearly as possible carry out the original intention. Provision is made for an annual audit and public statement of income and expenditures.

Almost all of the details and even the methods of expression of the Cleveland agreement are found in succeeding plans. Los Angeles was the first to introduce any strikingly original features. In this city the body having charge of the expenditures is a committee of five with a self-perpetuating membership. Two members must be members of the board of directors of the trust company. All five are originally selected by the trust company. The trust company retains the power also to alter at any time the form of organization in any manner that circumstances may seem to it to warrant so long as such changes do not interfere with the charitable purposes in view. As regards the powers of the company in its capacity of trustee, and in other less important features, the Los Angeles plan is similar to the others.

BOSTON'S PERMANENT CHARITY FUND

The next community trust to be established was in Boston; it is known as the "permanent charity fund." Here a committee of seven is provided instead of those of five members. It is essentially the Cleveland plan. The attorney-general of the state appoints one of the extra members and the trust company the other. The five year term is continued. No method of listing the fund for taxation is mentioned nor is there provision made for expending any part of the principal of the fund. The committee without the assent of the trust company may set aside special directions of donors as to how sums are to be spent, but such action requires affirmative vote of five members.*

INDIANAPOLIS PLAN

The Indianapolis plan adopted January 5, 1916, is briefly set forth in a resolution passed by three trust companies. Each one agrees to accept donations for "the Indianapolis foundation." The donor may limit absolutely the uses for which his gift is to be used. The committee to which is given the power of making disbursements is composed of six members, two appointed by the chief executive of the city, two by the senior judge of the federal district court, and two by the senior judge of the court having jurisdiction over the settlement of estates. There is no provision for spending the principal other than that possible in the terms of gift. The funds cannot be listed for taxation if exempted by law. The powers of the trust companies are not enumerated and, there-

fore, are the usual legal powers granted to similar foundations, subject to the terms of the various gifts.

In coming to any conclusion as to the merits of the several community trusts which have been established thus far and as to the probable ultimate results, it must be borne in mind that only those forms of organization which forever retain the confidence and interest of the people can entirely succeed. Upon the confidence and interest of the public depends their support and, therefore, their ability to do good. The enormous resources which may be expected to accumulate if the funds succeed in establishing themselves as the final solution of the problem of endowments can be guessed from the success which has so far attended the "Cleveland foundation."

In this age of tremendous and ever increasing demands for civic work, the problem of financing the thousand and one community undertakings is a problem of far greater significance than it has ever been before. It calls for the best genius and most determined effort that can be summoned for the public welfare. Waste and indifference can no longer be tolerated. Every available source of revenue must be wisely drawn upon, and expenditures must be so planned that the existing needs may be cared for in proportion to the urgency of each. Not only have community activities increased in number and volume, but they have become more and more necessary to society. This is especially true in cities.

If the problem of endowments can be successfully solved, it will tend to relieve each generation of the strain placed upon it, and it will make possible additional public service. The endowment represents social saving, the production and setting aside of capital for the benefit of all. Its accumulation, spread perhaps over a great period of years, is a burden to no one.

OBJECTIONS TO CLEVELAND PLAN

It is a regrettable fact that in planning the community trust in Cleveland more care was taken to safeguard the interests of the trust company than those of the people. This was due not so much to the lack of perception of the founder and his colleagues, as to the newness of the idea and the natural caution with which the matter was approached.

The fundamental objection to the Cleveland plan is that it fails to provide for complete community control and, therefore, fails to establish the trust fully as a community foundation. Most noticeable is the appointment of two of the five members of the committee by the company. This arrangement is specially objectionable because there is only one trust company concerned, instead of being a joint proposition of all trust companies. In a number of other particulars the directors of the company under the Cleveland plan indicate an unwillingness to leave the control of expenditures to community appointees, and in the handling

of the principal of the fund, the interest of the public is in no way represented.

It is upon its claim for recognition as a community institution that the "Cleveland foundation" relies for special support and public interest of a sort that must be its best insurance of success. But under the present plan there are decided limitations upon the public nature of the trust and there is no guarantee that other foundations equally or more public in control might not arise to compete with the original fund for public attention. As a private or semi-public fund there is much that is admirable in the Cleveland organization, but as a public trust in its present form it is most uncertain to succeed so long as it is not firmly established as the single community institution with unified public control.

In Indianapolis the control over the fund so far as spending the income is concerned is wholly in the hands of men indirectly representative of the people, and the claim to community recognition can hardly be denied. But the basis of representation in Indianapolis and that employed for three members of the committee under the Cleveland plan is by no means perfect. In the Indianapolis scheme the method of appointing the committee seems to offer the greatest opportunity for criticism.

The theory that judges are particularly well fitted to select members of such a committee is based upon a too limited consideration of existing conditions. It is unwise in the first place to give important duties of a non-judicial nature to a judge. There are obvious reasons for this time-honored notion: first, a judge's fitness should be decided purely upon his record on the bench; second, the dignity of the court should not be jeopardized by unnecessary connections with affairs in which factional disputes may arise; and there are doubtless other good reasons. On the other hand, the cautiously selected nominees of the judges are not necessarily well qualified for active leadership. Experience has sufficiently established this fact at least with regard to appointments where professional excellence is not the criterion.

The mayor is much better qualified as an appointing officer. Through him is obtained consideration for the various elements in the community which might desire representation, and thus to a limited extent the advantages of diversity in point of view are obtained in the composition of the committee.

COMMUNITY CONTROL

It is certainly to be desired that the community trust may make its appeal for support to all classes alike. Failure to do so means a loss both in ability to accumulate funds and in ability to employ most effectively the yearly income. That the value of widespread community encouragement and co-operation was well recognized by the founders of the trusts

is indicated to a greater or less degree by the forms of organization adopted and by the declarations made regarding the functions of the new institutions. It is doubtful, however, whether the form of control in any city does adequately carry out the intentions of the founders in this regard.

To carry out these intentions, the advantages of a diverse representation for the controlling body must be secured, or, if the present attempt to have purely general representation is continued, wider and more comprehensive points of view of the appointing officers are desirable. This is true primarily because purely general representation is impossible.

Other questions of organization might be raised upon the more or less satisfactory solution of all of which the success of the community trusts depends. For example, it seems doubtful whether the general representation aimed at should not be given up in favor of frankly special representation of the fields of social work. This and the present principle might possibly be combined to advantage. Again, serious doubt may be felt as to the adequacy of a board of control of five where the responsibility is so great and the field so wide. These and other similar matters deserve most careful consideration.

Of the questions which have been raised, the most vital are those concerning conditions which directly affect the status of the funds, either by tending to establish them on no higher plane than other similar quasi-public funds in the city or by tending to elevate each to the unique position of being its community's one public endowment institution. The community trust should occupy a more definite place in the machinery employed in civic work and should have a stronger and more certain support and co-operation from the other forces in the community than could any private organization. It should, in fact, mean a great stride toward united planning and co-operative action in social welfare enterprises, and so by virtue of its widely recognized worth may be expected to develop the latent possibilities of endowments viewed as a form of donation.

Present defects notwithstanding, the outlook for the community trusts is bright. Their existence promises their continuation and perfection in a form that will make possible their fullest community usefulness. This is true because only by satisfying the demands of each generation can any such fund keep the confidence of those who are in a position to contribute and to aid or to hinder its growth. Defective organizations will be set aside or, more probably, changed, and it is reasonable to assume that the best features will be retained and developed.

PROGRESS OF THE ANTI-NOISE MOVEMENT¹

BY ELMER S. BATTERSON²

Chicago

IT MAY appear contradictory to speak of progress in the anti-noise movement when a general consensus of opinion would be that our cities are constantly growing more noisy. Could a Rip Van Winkle, who wandered to the hills twenty years ago, return to-day to one of our American cities, he would certainly find much more noise disturbance than when he left, but it must be remembered that noise has usually been regarded as a necessary accompaniment of general progress and the increase in noise has come principally with the introduction of improvements which were unknown twenty years ago.

Up to the present time, the number of active workers in the crusade against useless noise has been very small and much of the work in this line has been unostentatiously done by individuals after being driven almost to distraction by some particular disturbance. This was true in New York city where the almost continuous shrieking of boat whistles prompted a public-spirited woman to organize a united protest which later resulted in some important advances in the crusade against noise. As a phase of community betterment, civic workers have had too small an appreciation of the noise evil and they have not regarded the subject with the seriousness which it deserves. Within the past two years have appeared several books dealing with the advance of civic improvement in American cities and in these not even one page has been devoted to the noise problem. A recently published bibliography relating to works on municipal government does not list noise as one of the subjects of municipal concern. In the public libraries of several of the larger American cities, a search has failed to find any index classifying noise in its relationship to public comfort.

In a number of respects, a comparison with the smoke problem is interesting. A few years ago, smoke and noise were regarded in a very similar way. Both appeared to be necessary accompaniments of "big industry" and improved transportation, but science has shown that smoke may be practically eliminated from our cities without retarding industrial

¹For further discussion of the question of noise, see the following articles: Quiet Zones near Hospitals, vol. ii, p. 519; Baltimore's Anti-Noise Crusade, William T. Watson, vol. iii, p. 585; Public Health vs. The Noise Nuisance, Imogen B. Oakley, vol. iv, p. 231.

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progress and civic workers have been quick to follow up the suggestions with demands for legislation to reduce the smoke nuisance. Both smoke and noise, some time ago, seemed to offer problems too indefinite for solution by the setting of standards for measuring the extent of the evil, but now smoke is easily measured both as to density and volume, and statistical charts are prepared showing the destructive possibilities of smoke under various conditions. With each advance in the anti-smoke crusade, the noise problem has received but scant attention. It has been recognized that noise is an evidence of industrial inefficiency, but still noise has appeared to be necessary in making advancement in other directions. As to measurement of noise disturbance and the establishment of standards to show what degrees of noise are and are not endurable, the anti-noise movement can show no advance. Sound of a simple nature, such as a musical tone, can be measured, compared and graphically represented, but noise, being a confusion of sounds, not only has no instrument of measurement, but it is even without a satisfactory definition. The sweetest musical tone, if repeated too often or inharmoniously combined with some other tone, may be as objectionable as the most rasping of sounds.

In the common law, noise has never been regarded as a public nuisance. A man suffering from a serious noise disturbance made by another has always had legal recourse in upholding his right of personal comfort and the undisturbed use of his property, but it is only in recent years that one was considered capable of offending a whole community by his noise disturbance. Noise is now regarded as a subject of legislation in dealing with public nuisances and each year finds additions to the forms of noise which are classed among public offences.

Fifty years ago, there were probably no anti-noise ordinances except under the general classification of disturbing the peace; now nearly every American city attempts some regulation of noise considered as a public nuisance. Results are secured in a number of ways. New York city gives to its health department wide discretion in determining what shall be considered a noise disturbance. Chicago has an anti-noise sub-committee as part of the city council health committee. Baltimore has taken the radical step of delegating a special policeman to give his entire time to the proper enforcement of the anti-noise ordinances. Most of the other cities have ordinances specifically forbidding certain kinds of noise and enforcement is intrusted to the regular police.

The medical profession has always regarded noise as a cause of neurasthenia and as a contributing factor in other ailments, but only recently have the learned societies recognized noise as an important part of the problems related to public health. There is evidence of advance along this line in the prominence given to the subject in the last American meeting of the International Congress on Hygiene and Demography. At this gathering, specialists of international reputation read papers showing that

noise is a public menace and urging that men of science give more study and investigation to the part which noise plays in reducing human efficiency in all large cities. In cases of sickness, the doctors advise that the patient be kept as quiet as possible or insist on absolute quiet and, if this cannot be secured at home or at a hospital, the patient is possibly taken away to more peaceful surroundings. Physicians are now coming to realize that the problem of rest and quiet for the sick is really a public one and that the proper regulation of noise can assist greatly in keeping people well in addition to helping the sick to recover. It has been largely through the efforts of physicians that "zones of quiet" have been established in the vicinity of hospitals in many cities. Within these zones, which usually include territory of 200 feet radius measured from the hospital grounds, all loud noises are absolutely forbidden.

Had the noise question been given consideration twenty years ago, steam whistles of railroads and factories would have been classed as the greatest disturbers. The changes which have occurred have resulted, in almost every case, in the reduction of this form of annoyance so that now in some cities all blowing of steam whistles is prohibited within the city limits. The introduction of modern means of signalling and switching in the railway yards and the gradual elimination of the grade crossing are operating to make the noise of the railroads of less importance than some of their other disturbances. In most cities, the whistle of the locomotive is forbidden except in case of emergency. In some instances the ringing of a bell has been substituted, but this form of annoyance is growing less. At the present time, most noise complaints against the steam railroads refer to the noisy switching of cars during the night hours. Much of this disturbance is the result of mere carelessness on the part of the employes and relief is usually secured when complaints are lodged with the proper authorities.

For the din of steam whistles of factories, which a few years ago was so common, there appears now to be no real excuse. Most of the American cities have ordinances along this line. This elimination is being accomplished as much through appeals to common sense as through legal restrictions. With all kinds of time-pieces available for convenient reference, it appears ridiculous to continue a practice which, for the doubtful convenience of comparatively few people, disturbs everybody in a whole district or a city. As all logical argument appears to be on the side of those who are striving for quieter cities, it will doubtless not be long before every American city will be entirely free from this form of disturbance which is not only annoying to all, but which also occurs at hours when many people require sleep. As a signal for the closing of factories, a simple gong system is supplanting the whistle in most establishments and is found to be fully as satisfactory.

Of all city problems, none presents more puzzling phases than intra-urban transportation. We want the facilities which modern means of transportation furnish but we want none of the accompanying inconveniences. For example, we desire surface cars of greater capacity and elevated trains operating nearer to our homes, but we detest the noise which they produce. The tinkling bell of the horse street car was not altogether pleasant but was very gentle compared with the grinding and rattling noises which came with the cable car. Then came the trolley with gradually heavier cars and the more insistent gongs. Fortunately for the public, as the cars have become ponderous, the tracks have been made smoother, made possible through electric welding of rails and more secure foundations for the roadbeds. In the larger cities where there are many street railway crossings, the rattle of cars, in passing over cross lines, creates serious disturbance, but it is encouraging to note a number of suggestions by engineers which may soon reduce the noise from this source.

Scientific men are also proposing means of relief from the disturbance caused by the jarring of the heavy cars. One suggestion has to do with a new form of car wheel whereby the jarring of the mechanism will, it is thought, be largely absorbed within the wheel rather than, as now, transmitted to the track and pavement. A seemingly less reasonable suggestion applies to a composition coating for the metal rail to serve as a cushion between car and rail. Doubtless much of the disturbance caused by surface cars could be greatly reduced by more attention being given to lubrication both of the machine parts and of the rails at the sharp curves. Recent experiments along this line by street railway companies have brought good results. In elevated roads are to be found most of the noise problems of the surface lines, together with special problems relating to an elevated metallic structure. Often, the noise created by the elevated trains causes little disturbance to the passengers, but, transmitted to the structure, the noise is thrown into the air with a roar which is extremely annoying to all compelled to live near the tracks. Many experiments for the solution of this difficulty are being made and engineers are suggesting possible remedies. The plans proposed contemplate changes in ways of laying the rails, new arrangement of cross-ties, and a form of structure so designed that the sound will be carried longitudinally along the track instead of being thrown outward. Doubtless science will be of much assistance in reducing the noise incidental to all city rail lines, within the next few years.

When the automobile first appeared upon city streets it was a very noisy machine. As each improvement has been added, engineers have taken care that the noise of the machinery should not be increased, for people demanded a quiet car. Upon most automobiles of late model it may be said that we now have a practically noiseless motor when properly operated. Were the automobile run on an unobstructed road, we could

safely say that it brought with it no serious noise problems, but, because of the silent operation of the machinery and the necessity of being operated over a public highway, some kind of warning signal has been considered necessary and now to announce the coming of a noiseless mechanism we sound the most raucous of noisy alarm signals. The noise problem of the auto-horn is a very serious one. Each motorist feels that he is entitled, as much as anyone else, to a clear path so he sounds the sharp blasts of his horn to announce his coming and to warn all persons to get out of the way. When he wishes to attain high speed, whether within legal limits or not, he finds the auto-horn gives him the privilege. While the law may specify that the motorist must slow up at crossings, yet he finds that he can easily disregard such regulations if his horn is in good order. Nearly all cities forbid all kinds of unnecessary noise, but few people think of the illegal part of auto-horn blowing. We invite a friend to take an automobile ride with us and use a dozen blasts of the horn to announce our arrival without considering that the entire neighborhood is being disturbed.

Many cities forbid the use of the muffler cut-out and a few cities go so far as to specify that the cut-out device must not be within reach of the driver when the car is in motion, but everywhere we hear the disturbing noise of the engine's exhaust. Although science has shown that the supposed power advantages of the cut-out are largely imaginary, yet there are enough motor drivers who, for the sake of attracting attention to themselves or to their cars, sound blasts like those of a locomotive in otherwise quiet neighborhoods. Legal restrictions have kept fair pace with progress in automobile building, and it is more a matter of law enforcement than of more legislation.

Most automobile drivers are noise offenders in some way. In many cases it is mere thoughtlessness; in some, a reckless disregard for law and order; and in others a misunderstanding of the law relating to the rights of others. When bicycles first appeared on the market, cyclists were required to equip their wheels with bells, but the misuse of these signals soon became so general that many cities then passed ordinances prohibiting their use. A step which may soon be expected in the problem of the auto-horn is some kind of limitation on its disturbing possibilities and doubtless some forms of signals now in use will be absolutely prohibited. Fortunately for public nerves, one of the most exasperating forms of automobile signals, the siren horn, has been reserved by most cities for the exclusive use of the municipality on fire trucks and for other emergency purposes.

It is a regrettable fact that while many agencies are contributing to the reduction of city noises, one of the most grievous offenders of the public peace is the municipality itself. In contracting for paving, the council committee apparently considers every other feature relating to the kind of

pavement under discussion except that of noise. When a noiseless pavement is decided upon, it is probably on account of its suitability from a traffic standpoint only. If it were otherwise, we would expect to see the elimination of all granite block paving in the vicinity of all large buildings where many people are employed. It is reasonable to think that in the near future, when the anti-noise crusade has had more attention, there will be embodied, in specifications for paving, some provision placing a limit upon the noise-producing possibilities of the materials used. The increasing use of asphalt for boulevards and creosoted wood blocks for traffic streets is a hopeful sign in the campaign for more quiet streets.

In granting permits to erect large buildings, the municipality allows almost any kind of construction machinery to be used as long as the streets are not seriously blockaded. As to the discomfort which the machines may cause to people compelled to be near them, the city does not often concern itself. This applies particularly to the steel riveter used in the construction of "sky-scraper" buildings. With this machine operating on a steel frame, serving as an immense sounding board, the air is rent for a distance of several blocks by the very irritating noise. It has been found possible to muffle the sound of the riveter in much the same way that a gun or automobile engine is muffled, but until municipalities place some noise limitation upon construction operations, such improvements will doubtless not soon come into general use. There is a good field for investigation and action along this line.

The city, in attempting to preserve order in the use of the busy streets, places a traffic policeman at the street corner armed with a little instrument which of itself is a great disturber of the public peace. The shrill whistle of the policeman is purposely blown loudly enough to be plainly heard above the roar of the passing vehicles and, while the traffic is guided thereby, thousands of office employes are at the same time seriously disturbed in their work. It is gratifying to note that a number of cities are experimenting in the use of semaphores and other systems of street signals in which the traffic is guided by use of eyesight rather than by employing an objectionable noise.

Mention has been made of only a few of the many noise disturbances which are receiving attention in our cities. The annoyances in the downtown districts, upon which cities are attempting regulation, include the noisy transportation of metal through the streets, the use of a loud voice or a disturbing instrument in advertising wares and the operation of noisy pleasure devices. The disturbances in the residence districts, upon which restriction is attempted, include the playing of musical instruments on the street, the calling of wares by hucksters and the noise made by dogs and roosters. In a very few cases there has been some regulation of the ringing of church bells.

What hope is there that the American city, twenty years from now, will be less noisy than it is to-day? In answer it must be said that public opinion concerning the seriousness of noise as a public nuisance will be one of the deciding factors. As soon as we come to regard noise as offering a problem measuring in importance with other menaces to public health and public comfort, we may expect many changes leading toward a more peaceful city. As long as we look with horror upon the violator of the anti-spitting ordinance and, at the same time, willfully disturb a whole neighborhood with an unnecessary blast of the auto-horn, our sense of discrimination is yet too crude to offer hope of much improvement in the reduction of city noise. Doubtless some standards relating to city noise must soon be established. We have censors to pass upon many kinds of city activities and it appears reasonable that there should be some noise tests applied to sound-making instruments, to pavements and to means of gaining publicity. At present, there is no national organization dealing exclusively with the noise problem, but the American Civic Association is active in the work with its committee on noise nuisances. In each of the larger cities, some anti-noise agitation is in progress and some results are being obtained. Philadelphia has recently set a good example by inaugurating a "soft pedal week." The anti-noise movement opens up a very large field of usefulness in civic endeavor. The need of action is very apparent and it may be expected that the crusade for quieter cities will be greatly strengthened within the next few years.

RECENT PUBLIC HEALTH REPORTS

BY A. W. HEDRICH¹

Boston, Mass.

I. RELATIVE VALUES IN PUBLIC HEALTH WORK

PUBLIC health is a new science. The causes of infectious diseases and the mode of spread have been discovered in the very recent past; in some instances they are not understood to-day. Even among the medical profession, the notions regarding disease prevention are often vague, and indeed sometimes quite erroneous. It is therefore not surprising to find that the public demands in the name of public health the performance of many duties that have no more influence in reducing disease than the old tom-tom method of driving out the demons of disease, as practised by the medicine man of old.

In this connection, Dr. Charles V. Chapin, superintendent of health of Providence, R. I., whose labors in the field of public health date back to the early days of the modern era of health administration, has the following to say in his 1915 annual report:²

"When I was elected superintendent of health in 1884 it was considered that most of the energy of the health department should be devoted to the abatement of nuisances and the promotion of general municipal sanitation. This was just what was done in most cities. It was believed that germs bred in dirt and that filth was the chief cause of disease. Bad odors were thought deadly and a whiff of sewer gas fatal. It was the business of the health department to sweep the streets, cart off garbage, clean up cellars, whitewash tenements, bury dead animals and stop bad odors. The inspector of nuisances was in those days the whole of most health departments. This belief in the efficacy of municipal house cleaning to 'stamp out' disease was not even then the teaching of science. There had been before the eighties of the last century few men of science engaged in public health studies and these did not teach the filth theory of disease. This theory and the sanitary practice based on it were due to propaganda by enthusiastic reformers to whose esthetic sense the campaign for cleanliness appealed. It was not based on painstaking study."

¹ Editorial assistant, *American Journal of Public Health*; sometime deputy health officer, East Chicago, Ind.

² The reports referred to in this review are in most instances for 1915, and include those of the following cities: New York, Boston, Jacksonville, Montclair and East Orange (N. J.), Richmond (Va.), Newburgh (N. Y.), York (Me.), Rochester, Providence, Wellesley (Mass.), Cincinnati, Chicago, LaSalle (Ill.), East Chicago (Ind.), Minneapolis, Indianapolis, San Francisco, Palo Alto (Cal.), and Seattle.

The public health activities which Chapin³ finds most productive of results are control of communicable diseases, infant hygiene nursing, and educational nursing for cases of tuberculosis. After these he places medical school inspection, supervision of milk and, last of all, general sanitation. He recognizes that public comfort and decency require that cities pay attention to back yards, alleys, garbage, and the like, "nevertheless, town and city councils have no right to spend money for these things and then claim that there is nothing left with which to save the lives of babies or ferret out incipient tuberculosis, or supervise the milk supply."

In a valuable contribution to public health literature, Schneider⁴ of the Russell Sage foundation carries Chapin's views a point further by calculating relative values for the various public health activities. He first analyzes the causes of preventable deaths from the standpoint of the damage done, preventability, cost of preventive work, and communicability of the disease to others. With the results of this analysis as a basis, he arrives at a set of values which indicate roughly the relative importance of each of the commoner branches of public health work. These "final values" are given herewith:

Control of communicable diseases:

Tuberculosis	12.1
Venereal diseases	6.6
All others	25.3
Infant hygiene	20.3
Privy and well sanitation	3.5
Milk control	2.7
Fly and mosquito suppression	2.4
Food sanitation	0.1
Inspection of school children ⁵	7.0
Vital statistics ⁵	5.0
Education ⁵	5.0
Dispensary and clinics ⁵	5.0
Laboratory ⁵	5.0

Total 100.0

It is interesting to note that, in Schneider's opinion, the control of communicable diseases and infant hygiene work might profitably constitute two thirds of the activities of the health department.

It is understood, of course, that the proportionate expenditures must vary from city to city. Southern municipalities must spend more on mosquito, hookworm and pellagra propaganda than northern municipali-

³ Chapin, C. V.: "Effective Lines of Health Work," *The Providence Medical Journal*, January, 1916.

⁴ Schneider, Franz, Jr.: "Relative Values in Public Health Work," *American Journal of Public Health*, VI, 9, September, 1916.

⁵ This value is arbitrarily assigned.

ties; likewise, New Orleans and San Francisco should naturally spend more for plague prevention than inland cities. Making allowances for local requirements, such as the foregoing, it is, nevertheless, evident upon analysis of expenditures along the lines suggested by Schneider, that in many health departments there is an utter lack of proportion in the distribution of funds. In general, food inspection and general sanitation (especially nuisance inspection) are over-inflated at the expense of communicable disease and infant hygiene work.

II. RECENT TENDENCIES IN PUBLIC HEALTH WORK

The dominant note in the new public health is that *things* do not spread disease as much as *persons*. Progressive health officers are therefore turning away from ash cans, back yards, garbage, bad odors and the like, and are devoting more attention to the careless consumptive, the diphtheria and typhoid carrier, and the ignorant mother who feeds her baby anything from beer to garlic sausage. Thus we find Doctor Terry, late of the health department of Jacksonville, Florida, suggesting in his report that six sanitary inspectors be dropped from the pay-roll, and public health nurses substituted.

Another straw in the same current is the abandoning of fumigation after scarlet fever, measles and diphtheria. Providence, New York, Rochester and other cities have experimented and found that the incidence of these diseases was no higher in districts where fumigation was omitted, than in the rest of the city. As a consequence, the money that was formerly spent for smoking up harmless chairs, tables, carpets and walls, ranging from \$1 to \$3 or more per case, is now spent for better supervision and "concurrent disinfection," that is, disinfection of infectious discharges during the course of the disease.

Of late, a number of health departments have begun to attack the venereal disease problem. Among the first, if not the first of cities to enter this field, was New York. In order to combat the evil influence of quacks, notices are inserted in newspapers, and distributed in toilet rooms of saloons, lodging houses, large industrial establishments and other public places. The notices bear the information that the department of health maintains a list of reputable practitioners, dispensaries and hospitals, and that the department is prepared to make free diagnoses. Rochester, and doubtless other cities, also goes to the extent of making diagnoses, but Buffalo, Newark, and the co-operative clinic of the Oranges in New Jersey go as far as to give free treatment.

The barrier of false modesty is very properly being broken down. While statistics are largely guess-work, it is estimated by high authorities that at least 50 per cent of all adult males are at some time or other infected with gonorrhea, and about 10 per cent with syphilis. A tragedy lies in the fact that many cases are innocently contracted, especially among

females and young children. Is it not time, therefore, that we cease considering this problem from the purely moral side, regard it as a public health menace as well, and undertake to protect the nation?

Leaving the foregoing problem, we pass on to the interesting community tuberculosis experiment at Framingham, Mass. The Metropolitan Life Insurance Company has donated \$100,000 for the purpose of conducting a campaign to exterminate tuberculosis in a single city, the experiment to last three years. The work is being carried out under the auspices of the National Association for the Study and Prevention of Tuberculosis, Dr. Donald B. Armstrong being in charge of field operations. The purpose of the experiment is to demonstrate to what extent communities can eradicate tuberculosis by means of a thoroughgoing campaign, to determine the best means to be employed, and finally to awaken the country at large to its responsibility regarding this disease.

III. THE TRAINED HEALTH OFFICER

Upon looking over the reports of cities under 250,000, one is impressed with the number of non-medical men of special training, who are giving excellent service as health officers. Before me are the excellent reports of Montclair, and the Oranges in New Jersey, Palo Alto, Cal., and Dallas, Texas, whose health officers belong to this class. In each case, the administration is unusually efficient.

The chief reason for the present inefficiency of municipal health departments has been the lack of trained, full-time health officers. Usually a practising physician is appointed who lacks much of the necessary knowledge, and can not afford to give sufficient time to the office. In this connection, Preeble of the United States Public Health Service⁶ says: "He [the health officer] need not necessarily be a physician, but he should have either thorough experience or previous training, and a good working knowledge of sanitary principles and practice."

There is no good reason why surgery, obstetrics and similar studies should be essential to efficient health administration, but on the other hand, such subjects as epidemiology, housing, water supply, and vital statistics are very necessary.

That public health is a distinct profession is shown by the fact that no less than ten medical schools now give degrees for advanced study in this subject.⁷

⁶ Preeble, Paul: "Public Health Administration," *Public Health Reports*, March 2, 1917.

⁷ Universities of California, Colorado, Michigan, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin; Tulane, Harvard, Detroit Coll. of M. and S., Univ. and Bellevue Med. Coll. (N. Y.), and Harvard Univ. and Mass. Inst. of Tech. School for Health Officers. The following have announced courses to be given in the future: Johns Hopkins, Yale and Ohio State Univ.

IV. HEALTH ADMINISTRATION UNITS

In health, as in other administration, efficiency depends somewhat upon the size of the organization. Too small a body is likely to be inefficient and wasteful through lack of specialized workers and because of the performance of low-priced work by high-priced help. Likewise, difficulties beset the large, unwieldy organization.

Co-operative health work between smaller cities, and the splitting up of the large city health departments are efforts to remedy these difficulties.

"The local health office in the smaller communities is the most essential and the least efficient part of the present-day public health machine," says Earle B. Phelps, of the hygiene laboratory, U. S. Public Health Service. It is only in the wealthiest of the small towns that we find health administration that is even reasonably satisfactory. In some states, an effort has been made to meet this difficulty by placing the county health officer in charge of the smaller cities, and another scheme that is worthy of attention is that of combining the functions of adjacent towns under a single health officer.

In 1913, at the suggestion of Prof. W. T. Sedgwick, an experiment was made to determine the cost and general practicability of such work, as well as the relative importance of the major lines of health work. Prof. E. B. Phelps,⁸ who acted as executive officer, made a contract with Wellesley, Mass., and each of five neighboring towns, whereby he was to administer contagious disease control, milk inspection, fly and mosquito work, plumbing inspection and laboratory service. An organization comprising a health officer, a bacteriologist and secretary, a sanitary and plumbing inspector, a field assistant and two clerks served a population of 32,650 during one year at a cost of \$7,603.50. The per capita cost, exclusive of plumbing inspection, was 19 cents per annum.

Professor Phelps concludes that a population of about 60,000 would develop each of the various subdivisions of the work to the point of maximum efficiency, and could include the services of two district nurses and veterinary advisory services at a per capita cost of one-half the average cost of health work in the large cities of the United States. That the experiment was a success is shown by the fact that the work is now upon a permanent basis.

Similar co-operation exists between the five Orange municipalities in New Jersey, with relation to milk supply, tuberculosis nursing, and a venereal disease clinic.

The work of the hygienic institute of LaSalle, Peru, and Oglesby, Ill., is unique in that the expenses (\$16,350 in 1915-16) are contributed by a

⁸ E. B. Phelps: "Co-operative Health Administration," *United States Public Health Reports*, Sept. 25, 1914.

generous citizen, Mr. F. W. Matthiessen. The report does not state the total population served, but the per capita cost is about 50 cents.

In spite of the many advantages of co-operative health administration, but few communities have adopted the idea. Rivalry and jealousy seem to be the chief obstacles. With the object of encouraging the union of smaller health offices in Massachusetts, Prof. W. T. Sedgwick, of the state board of health, in February, 1916, introduced a bill into the Massachusetts legislature to grant to co-operating towns totaling 10,000 population, a state subsidy equivalent to one-third the salary of the health officer. Unfortunately, the bill was not passed.

When we come to large cities we find a tendency to split the health department up into a number of smaller offices. New York city on January 1, 1915, opened an experimental health district in the East Side, the district covering 21 square blocks with a population of about 30,000, practically all Russian and Austrian Hebrews. The following activities were combined under the direction of a local health officer: child hygiene, communicable disease, medical school inspection, milk stations, and conferences with food handlers, janitors, boys' health leagues, and other organizations. The volume of work was increased by co-operation with the district police station, whereby the police officers acted as sanitary inspectors for their respective beats.

A striking increase in efficiency is reported as due to the combination of functions performed by the individual workers, thereby shortening trips and avoiding duplication. The nurses, for instance, familiarized themselves with the needs of the entire family, and it is reported that the remarkable number of visits of seven per hour per nurse was averaged.

The plan seems especially well adapted to districts which have problems peculiar to the locality. The health officer and his staff acquire an intimate knowledge of the health district comparable with that of the settlement worker which could not possibly be gained by an executive at the city hall, or by workers assigned to large districts.

V. THE SUCCESS OF HEALTH REPORTS

A great many health reports are not very useful. They are so technical and dry as to be of little interest to the general reader, and so inaccurate and incomplete in essentials as to be of little value to the student of public health matters.

A health report, it would seem, ought to accomplish the following things:

First, it should justify the existence of the health department and the expense incident thereto, by giving an account of its work, the cost, the results, and other information necessary to a judgment of efficiency.

Second, it should outline the public health problems of the community, and the plans and needs of the department to meet these conditions.

Incidentally, it may add a limited amount of technical information, such as may be of value to vital statisticians and other health and social workers. However, if a report is to be a mere repository for statistics, it is likely to fail of its purpose as an annual report.

Now, it is not to be expected that a municipal health report be quite as entertaining as a trip to the movies; but, on the other hand, it is reasonable to ask that a report state its message so that the reader for whom it is intended may understand, and further, that it be attractive enough to invite inspection.

Many a report loses its chance to be examined at the outset by coming clad in a dull, sickly-looking cover. Again, it is frequently too voluminous. I have a bulky report of the departments of a Massachusetts city in mind in which nearly two pages are devoted to the dates of town meeting since 1881, and many additional pages are wasted in giving the names and vital statistics regarding each individual dying during the year. An Indiana city issues a report of which neither the cover nor the title page gives the name of the city.

One of the most important parts of a report is an intelligible financial statement; for probably no other single page will give such important clues to the efficiency of the department. And yet, it is quite the exception to find a clear, logical statement of expenditures. Each activity should be treated as a unit in such a statement, in order to show whether it is absorbing a share of the appropriation proportionate to its importance.⁹ In other words, instead of salaries, rent, printing, etc., the main heads should be administration, infant hygiene, tuberculosis, nuisance abatement, etc.

Especial care should be used to distinguish between expenditures that have a direct bearing on public health, and those in which the relation is remote or negligible. For example, privy abatement has a direct relation to disease prevention, since privies pollute wells and enable flies to carry the germs of intestinal disease to our food. Plumbing inspection, on the other hand, has only a remote relation to health, being conducive mainly to comfort and decency. Hence, it should not be charged to health promotion.

Because of the varying methods of stating expenditures, it is possible to compare these only in a small proportion of health reports.¹⁰ It can

⁹ G. L. Powers: "Uniform Accounts in Health Administration," Census Bureau, 1912. Report of Commission on Uniform Health Reports, *American Journal of Public Health*, V. 3, 6, June, 1913.

¹⁰ Following are the per capita expenditures during 1915 for health purposes in certain cities: Boston, \$.65; New York, \$.59; Palo Alto, Cal., \$.58; Jacksonville, Fla., \$.52; Montclair, N. J., \$.51; LaSalle, Ill., about \$.50; Rochester, \$.39; Wellesley, Mass., \$.38; Richmond, Va., \$.33; Providence, \$.30; Cincinnati, \$.25; Indianapolis, \$.23; East Orange, N. J., \$.23; East Chicago, Ind., \$.11.

not be too strongly urged that health officers follow the recommendations of the American Public Health Association in this matter.

As to attractiveness, readability and general appeal, one of the best reports recently issued is that of Richmond, Va. The attention of even the layman is instantly seized by a series of colored charts showing the mortality of the city from the different diseases at present and during the past, and the remarkable effect of certain measures such as the introduction of diphtheria antitoxin, and the abatement of privies. The reading matter, also, is well planned and written. Reports such as this are bound to bring returns in the form of public appreciation and support.

The survey reports of the Russell Sage foundation (F. Schneider, Jr., sanitarian) are likewise exceedingly effective. Their educational value can scarcely be overestimated.

"The Example of York" is the title of an interesting report by W. E. Brown, telling the story of health work in a Maine sea-resort of 3,000, which now appropriates nearly a dollar per capita for health promotion.

In conclusion, a word should be added regarding vital statistics. A little knowledge is always a dangerous thing, and in vital statistics it leads to ridiculous blunders. The part-time health officer of a New York city of 25,000 reports the total death rate of his city as 17.8 *per cent*, and the birth rate as 20.2 *per cent*. Such rates might be applicable to a community of guinea pigs, but scarcely to human beings.

Further discussion of this subject is not possible at this point. Suffice to say that unless vital statistics come from one skilled in the subject, both the statistics and the conclusions should be accepted with great caution.

ANALYSIS OF MEASURES RELATING TO MUNICIPAL ADMINISTRATION AND LEGISLATION SUBMITTED TO POPULAR VOTE AT THE NOVEMBER ELECTION

First Installment

BY FREDERICK REX¹

Chicago

A LARGE number of propositions relating to municipal administration and legislation were referred to the voters of the various cities, towns and villages in the United States for approval or rejection at the general election held in November of last year. These measures included proposed amendments to state constitutions and city charters, local ordinances and questions of public policy. The submission of such measures to the people was not peculiar or confined to any city, state or other territorial unit. They varied from single propositions submitted to the voters in certain cities in the North Atlantic states to thirty-three state and municipal propositions placed on the November ballot in San Francisco, twenty-six of these being purely local measures. In subject-matter they ranged from an act making New Year's day a legal holiday to intricate questions of public improvements and financial policy. The ability of the voter to exercise discrimination is shown by the result in San Francisco, where the electorate approved three and rejected four proposed amendments to the state constitution, adopted one and defeated two of three proposed ordinances, voted down ten and ratified thirteen proposed amendments to the city charter.

In Los Angeles the voters approved ten and rejected six of the referred measures. In other words, the voters of San Francisco approved 51.5 per cent and rejected 48.5 per cent, and the voters of Los Angeles ratified 62.5 per cent and defeated 37.5 per cent of the propositions placed on the ballot for their suffrage.

Generally in the various cities the questions referred were explained to the voters by local newspapers, civic organizations and interests affected. In the larger cities bulletins were published and distributed among the voters containing the gist of each proposition and the reasons or arguments for and against each. In the main, the measures referred were phrased in clear and simple language, thus enabling every voter to

¹ Municipal reference librarian.

cast his or her ballot intelligently. An analysis of the propositions submitted to the electorate in the cities from which information has been received is herewith made, according to the subject-matter of such measures.

ANNEXATION OF TERRITORY

On the ground that East Cleveland is already a part of Cleveland commercially, industriously, socially and in all other ways except in government, the voters of the larger city were urged to vote on the annexation of the suburban city. It was urged as unfair that the suburban city should ask the metropolis to furnish suburban residents with parks and public recreation, a wholesome water supply, sewage disposal facilities and all the other advantages possessed by a large city and not share in the expense and responsibilities incident thereto. The measure was carried by a large majority.

BRIDGES

Lawrence, Mass., voted on an act authorizing the expenditure of a sum not exceeding \$11,000 as part payment for work performed in connection with the rebuilding of Wellington bridge. Milwaukee approved the issuance of \$250,000 in bonds for the erection and construction of a bridge across the Milwaukee river. The defeat of the bond issue was urged by the city club on the grounds that traffic conditions did not justify the erection of another bridge in close proximity to other bridges and that the cost of maintaining the present bridges in Milwaukee is far in excess of the amount expended by other cities of the same size for a similar purpose. The measure, however, was vigorously supported by business interests affected and by the Socialist party. The voters of Louisiana approved an amendment of the state constitution giving the city of New Orleans the right to construct and operate across the Mississippi river at or near New Orleans bridges and tunnels for railroad and highway use, together with all railroad and highway connections, terminals and other necessary facilities. The city is also given power to issue bonds for the purpose of undertaking the foregoing public improvements.

CHARTERS AND CHARTER AMENDMENTS

The voters of Fitchburg and Quincy, Mass., adopted new city charters providing for government by a mayor and a council elected by districts and at large. In Kansas City, Mo., a board of thirteen freeholders was elected to draft a new city charter. An act passed by the legislature of the same state revising the city charter of Springfield was submitted to the voters for acceptance.

The voters of Berkeley rejected an amendment to the city charter providing for the city-manager plan of government, the city manager to be appointed by the council, irrespective of his place of residence.

The voters of the city of Chicago defeated an act passed by the state legislature providing for the consolidation in the city government of Chicago of the Lincoln park, South park, and West park systems as well as thirteen smaller park districts and the public library and house of correction. The Lincoln park and the West park systems are each at the present time governed by a board of seven members appointed by the governor, the South park system is governed by a board of five trustees appointed by the judges of the circuit court, and the thirteen smaller park districts are each governed by commissioners elected by the people of the park district. The public library is at present governed by a board of nine directors appointed by the mayor, three each year for a term of three years. The house of correction is governed by a board of three inspectors, one being appointed each year for a term of three years. The act rejected by the people at the November election provided for the consolidation of the sixteen independent park governments under one board of nine commissioners to be appointed by the mayor, three each from the west, south and north divisions of the city for a term of six years, the terms of office of three commissioners expiring every two years. The act abolished the board of trustees of the public library and the board of inspectors of the house of correction, the foregoing institutions being placed directly under the city council. The defeat of this meritorious measure at the polls, however, does not prevent the resubmission of the act at a future election, for it is provided that the act may be placed before the voters repeatedly until its final passage is secured.

CIVIL SERVICE

In Kalamazoo, an attempt was made to repeal the civil service law. The voters, however, decisively defeated the project at the polls. The electorate of the city of San Francisco defeated an amendment to the charter extending the civil service system to all departments and offices, confirming without examination all employes under civil service who had been in the employ of the city and county for more than one year, and making probationary civil service employes of those who have served more than six months and less than one year. The civic league of improvement clubs and associations of the city advised the voters to vote no on the foregoing amendment as the latter gave to political appointees the protection of civil service without due examination. The voters of St. Paul also had before them for approval or rejection a proposal for the repeal of the provisions of the city charter requiring employes and officers in the classified service to be appointed and promoted on the basis of fitness, determined through a competitive examination, and permitting appointing officers to make appointments and removals at pleasure.

MUNICIPAL COURTS

An amendment to the charter of San Francisco was proposed upon petition by more than 29,000 citizens providing for a general reconstruction of the police courts of the city. The amendment provided for one court with four judges to be appointed by the mayor instead of four separate departments. It was further provided that the court remain open from 8 a.m. to 2 a.m. with at least one judge on the bench. The purpose of the last provision was to give an arrested person an opportunity for a prompt hearing without being locked up over night or compelled to find bail and return to court for hearing the following day. It was urged that the practice in effect of four courts sitting at the same hours and adjourning at noon inflicted hardships on persons arrested later in the day. The court hours proposed in the amendment were fixed with reference to the hours during which the police report off duty, in order that they could be heard promptly instead of being brought to testify at inconvenient hours. It was designed to eradicate the bail bond brokerage evil by compelling continuous sessions of the court from eight o'clock in the morning until two o'clock the following morning, thus enabling accused persons to secure a prompt trial instead of making them dependent upon bail bond brokers by reason of the prevailing short sessions of the police courts. The amendment also provided for a presiding judge whose duty it should be to distribute the business of the court and fix rules of procedure. The same system of centralized and responsible administration of the courts was provided for as that which has made the municipal court of Chicago a notable success. The term of each judge was fixed at six years and any police judge upon becoming a candidate for an elective office automatically vacated his seat on the bench, thus preventing any judge from using the powers of his court to secure votes. It was further provided that a police judge, although appointed, could be recalled in the same manner as an elective officer and for the summary trial before the superior court and removal on complaint of a citizen or a police judge or court attaché convicted of wilful failure to perform his duty. In order that an arrested person might not be kept in jail nor compelled to furnish bail for petty offenses it was provided that a person arrested must be brought promptly before the court and, unless he should ask for a postponement, his case speedily disposed of. The foregoing amendment was drafted by the legislative committee of the civic league of improvement clubs and associations acting jointly with a similar committee from the commonwealth club of San Francisco.

Another amendment of the same sections of the city charter as the foregoing proposition was placed on the ballot by the board of supervisors at the request of the police judges. It provided for the election of judges by the people and the holding of night sessions of the court at the

option and during the pleasure of the mayor. Both proposed amendments were rejected, however, at the election by practically similar majorities, the amendment drawn by the civic league and commonwealth club being defeated by 41,960 votes, and that of the board of supervisors by a total of 43,465 votes. The voters, however, approved an amendment to the charter whereby the salary of each police judge was increased from \$300 to \$400 per month.

MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS

The voters of Los Angeles adopted an amendment to the charter providing that any matter which is to be submitted to the voters of the city, except the regular elections for city officers, may be submitted at a county, state or national election. The measure aims to do away with expensive special elections. The city of Newton voted on the adoption of an act passed by the legislature authorizing preferential voting at municipal elections. The voters of San Francisco approved an amendment to the charter providing for the election of municipal officers at one election instead of two. The measure consolidates the primary and general election into one, through the preferential voting system. Instead of holding a primary election in September and a general election in November, it provides for one municipal election in November. It also provides for counting the ballots at the election office in the city hall instead of in 700 scattered precincts. It is made the duty of the election officers to seal the ballot boxes as soon as the polls close and to bring them to the department of elections where they will be counted by trained deputies in public view. It is urged in support of the amendment that it will save the expense of the primary election, amounting to about \$55,000 and also save \$13,000 more in the expense of counting the ballots, or a total of \$68,000. It will save the candidates the cost of one campaign where, up to the present, they must make two and only call on the voter to attend one election, thus securing the substantial advantages of majority rule, saving \$68,000 of public money and rendering it possible for men of small means to run for public office and, likewise, shorten the campaign. The voters of Massachusetts approved an act to prevent the voters of one political party from voting in the primaries of another political party.

FINANCIAL PROPOSITIONS

Lawrence, Mass., voted on an amendment requiring that trust funds held by municipalities be placed at interest in saving banks, trust companies incorporated under the laws of the state or in national banks, or invested in securities which are legal investments for savings banks, and on an amendment providing for the payment of 6 per cent interest on unpaid taxes, computed from the date when taxes are payable. The

voters of Los Angeles approved a proposed amendment of the charter giving the council the right in its discretion to pay any salaries semi-monthly or weekly. The amendment seeks to remedy the conditions prevailing under the old method of monthly payment by which employes in need of financial assistance assigned their salaries to loan sharks at an exorbitant rate of interest. A further amendment of the charter of the same city was sought whereby the board of harbor commissioners, with the approval of the mayor and two thirds of the council, was authorized to let emergency contracts without bids. Although this practice is permitted to the board of public works under similar conditions and very rarely exercised and was deemed a proper provision for possible emergencies, the voters at the polls defeated the amendment. A third amendment, modeled after similar provisions of the New York and Philadelphia laws, permitted the council by a two-thirds vote, to authorize the issuance of short-term notes of the city to raise money to carry the city between the beginning of the fiscal year on July 1, and the paying of the taxes in November. At present a reserve fund of \$1,250,000 is carried by the city for this purpose and the advocates of the amendment claimed that the expense of carrying this reserve fund could be eliminated under the proposed amendment. The municipal league of Los Angeles, however, in opposing the amendment, urged that the reserve fund fulfills a further function than simply that of making it possible to pay cash for the city's bills, because it is in effect a real reserve in time of emergency. The existence of similar provisions in New York and Philadelphia, it was pointed out, had resulted in such abuses as borrowing on such bills in order to pay current debts. Likewise, in times of financial stringency, the city might be able to borrow at any reasonable rate and therefore would be put to a much greater expense than the cost of carrying a reserve fund. The last named fund, with improved methods of depositing the city's money in the banks, whereby a satisfactory interest rate would be secured, would not thus prove a heavy expense or burden. The voters of Los Angeles, believing the amendment unwise as presented and opposed to the basic principles of conservative finance and safety, defeated the amendment by a large vote. The voters of San Francisco approved an amendment to the city charter providing for the written consent of the auditor and chairman of the finance committee of the board of supervisors, in addition to that of the mayor, in selecting depositories of public money. It was urged in support of the amendment that these two officers should have a full knowledge of the city's financial condition and accordingly be better able to direct its policies. In Seattle the voters by a vote of 36,155 to 18,976 defeated a proposed amendment of the constitution of the state of Washington restricting the right of suffrage in bond issue elections to taxpayers. The voters of Toledo approved a bond issue designed to meet a deficiency in the operating or current revenue of the city. Sim-

ilarly, the voters of Columbus in Ohio approved three propositions increasing the tax rates of the city 2.4 mills and of the board of education .5 mills in order to meet the operating demands for the year 1917 and a bond issue of \$3,500,000 for river improvements. The voters of the state of Washington defeated a referendum measure requiring the submission of a budget by the governing officials of all counties, cities, towns, school and park districts each year and specifying in detail the manner of preparing such budget. The measure, among other items, prohibited the expenditure out of any fund of more money than that provided for in the budget and using the unexpended balance in one fund for the benefit of another.

FIRE DEPARTMENTS

The voters of Haverhill by a majority vote adopted an act passed by the legislature authorizing the city to retire and pension at half pay any permanent member of the fire department certified by the city physician to be permanently disabled, mentally or physically, from further performing duty by reason of injuries sustained or illness incurred through no fault of his own while in performance of his duty, or those in service not less than 25 years or 60 years of age, in the last two instances the member of the fire department able to qualify thereunder being given the privilege to retire at his own request. Somerville submitted to its voters a proposition providing for permanency of tenure of the chief of its fire department during good behavior subject to removal by the mayor and board of aldermen for cause and specific reasons.

The voters of East Orange rejected the act providing for the two-platoon system in the fire department. The voters of San Francisco, however, approved an amendment to the city charter providing for the two-platoon system whereby firemen are not required to be on duty more than fourteen consecutive hours. It was urged in support of the amendment that the system would provide an adequate number of men on duty at all hours without additional cost to the taxpayers as well as increase departmental efficiency with a resultant reduction in fire losses and decrease in insurance rates.

The city of Berkeley by a close vote defeated a proposed amendment to the city charter authorizing the city to pension on half pay employes who are in the city service for twenty-five years. Newton voted on an amendment to its charter authorizing the city to pension any firemen who, by reason of permanent disability incurred during the performance of duty, are no longer able to perform active service. San Francisco approved two amendments to its city charter giving the boards of police and fire commissioners additional control of the police and firemen's relief funds. The amendments give exclusive jurisdiction to both boards over pensions to which members of families of policemen and firemen

killed or dying as the result of injuries sustained while in the performance of their duties may be entitled. Applicants for pensions are granted hearings before the police or fire commission and may be represented by counsel and introduce available testimony. The judgment of the board of police or fire commissioners in passing upon applications is final unless there has been a clear abuse of discretion, in which event the applicants have the right to appeal to the courts for relief. The voters defeated a proposed amendment to the charter of the same city authorizing the board of supervisors to levy a tax to meet the demands made upon the police and firemen's pension funds when a deficit exists or the present sources of revenue may be found insufficient for the maintenance of these funds.

HEALTH PROPOSITIONS

The voters of Oregon by a vote of 100,119 to 99,745 defeated a measure proposed by initiative petition prohibiting compulsory vaccination, inoculation and other similar treatment for the prevention or cure of contagious or infectious diseases. It was urged by the proponents of the measure that the latter would not prohibit vaccination of any kind, but merely prohibit compulsory vaccination of all kinds.

The citizens of Detroit approved a charter amendment empowering the city council to levy taxes or issue bonds for acquiring lands and buildings to be used as hospitals and the maintenance of the latter. Bloomington in Illinois approved a proposition providing for the establishment of a tuberculosis sanitarium by the county.

To be concluded in the July issue

THE BUDGET AMENDMENT OF THE MARYLAND CONSTITUTION

BY HARVEY S. CHASE, C.P.A.

Boston, Mass.

THE issue of a pamphlet purporting to be a serious critical analysis of a constitutional amendment recently enacted by the people of Maryland, offers an opportunity to consider this amendment in relation to such alleged analyses and, as one of the authors of the amendment, I am glad to comply with the request of the editors of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW and contribute my views thereon.

In the first place, the title of the pamphlet in question is sensational, viz.: "Serious Defects of Maryland's Budget Law."¹ Following this publicity-attracting title, the sections of the amendment are criticized

¹ The institute for public service (Dr. William H. Allen, director) recently issued a pamphlet entitled "Serious Defects in Maryland's Budget Law," a measure that has attracted wide attention. The Maryland budget law was similar to the proposal that was brought before the New York constitutional convention of 1915. It was promulgated in Maryland, however, as a Democratic measure and passed by the legislature of that state with almost no opposition. Since its adoption it has been commended by many who are interested in budget reform and is now under consideration for adoption in several states. As an illustration of the consideration that is being given to this law, we may be permitted to quote from the inaugural address of the governor of West Virginia in the course of which he said:

I advocated the establishment of a budget system similar to that adopted by Maryland by a constitutional amendment which was framed and recommended by the Goodnow efficiency commission. This Maryland plan was unanimously endorsed at the governors' conference in Washington in December last, as well as by the retiring governor of this state in his annual message to the legislature. It has been endorsed by the bureau of municipal research and by economic experts everywhere. I prepared and caused to be introduced in each house of the legislature a similar amendment, embodied in a joint resolution, providing for its submission to the people at the election in 1918.

Illinois has recently adopted an executive budget law as a statute matter. In 1916 the Edge bill was passed in New Jersey, and in Nebraska the Norton bill providing for an executive budget was passed.

The subject has come to be one of such importance as to make it desirable to give the matter something more than passing attention in the pages of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, and accordingly we asked Dr. Cleveland, who had been prominent in the formulation and adoption of the Maryland law, to prepare a series of questions to the author of the pamphlet enlarging certain aspects of it. Dr. Allen has consented to answer these questions. We had hoped to have his reply in time for publication in this issue, but the exigencies of the situation in his office prevented this. We are promised, however, his replies for our July issue. These will be published in connection with the inquiries of Dr. Cleveland, and thus the issue fairly presented to our readers. In the meantime Mr. Chase, to whom the pamphlet was first sent for review, has prepared this preliminary notice. In fact it was the receipt of Mr. Chase's manuscript that crystallized the edi-

without appreciation for their good points, but with drastic emphasis on their alleged faults of omission and commission.

Nowhere in the pamphlet do we find an acknowledgment of the prolonged and careful study given to the contents and the wording of this amendment by the commission appointed by the governor of Maryland and composed of the ablest men in the state, selected solely for demonstrated wisdom and capacity, irrespective of partisan considerations. These gentlemen—without money compensation—labored for months over this amendment, assisted by persons who had had long experience in governmental matters relating to finance and of whom the writer acknowledges he was one.

Nowhere in the pamphlet is there expression of an understanding of the difficulties actually surmounted by the commission, not only in originating the amendment but in bringing about its enactment by both branches of the legislature of Maryland, and finally in obtaining the strong endorsement of it by the people of Maryland at the last election in November.

It would be natural to expect from the head of an organization which purports to act in the service of the public—whether or not it receives money compensation—some expression of appreciation of the many admirable features of the Maryland amendment and a corresponding appreciation of the self-sacrificing work done by those responsible for its initiation and completion.

The lack of such appreciation causes surprise until the last page of the pamphlet is reached. Then it becomes evident why the ultra critical attitude has been adopted and why no credit has been allowed for the good work done.

The last page says: "The questions here raised by the institute for public service are prompted not by theoretical interest in budget making." (Sic) "Officers of the institute have had first-hand experience in making city and state budgets." Then, in a footnote: "If the institute for public service, with official or non-official relation to your state's budget making, can help anyone in your state, please command us."

In other words, the pamphlet, with its spectacular title, is merely an advertising scheme to get business for the promoters of the aforesaid "institute." The situation now becomes clear, the reasons for wholesale criticisms are evident, the antagonisms to other and longer established agencies of public service are explained, and we may gently push the

tor's thought with regard to a further consideration of the questions of principle and practice involved.

Copies of the Maryland budget amendment can be had of the department of legislative reference, city hall, Baltimore, Md. Dr. Horace E. Flack, director. Copies of the critical pamphlet can be had of the institute for public service (Dr. William H. Allen, director) 51 Chambers street, New York city.—EDITOR.

pamphlet one side and turn to the text of the Maryland amendment itself asking for fair and disinterested critical analysis.

As the writer has already twice acknowledged that he is one of the authors of this document, it may be urged with reason that completely "disinterested" criticism could scarcely be expected from him. Therefore he may as well point out another feature of the "institute's" advertising pamphlet in which after having ensconced itself in a glass house by its final appeal for business, the institute proceeds to contravene the old adage by immediately throwing stones at other houses which it declares are glass. It not only throws stones, but it throws *mud*, by declaring "that the Maryland amendment is not merely a Maryland amendment but because of its origin has become a propaganda. Behind it is a lobby that has innumerable spokesmen and organs. Five different forces are pushing this amendment, calling it to the attention of the governors' conference, extolling it to newspapers, legislators, individuals, governors, etc.:

"(1) The institute for governmental research financed by the Rockefeller foundation and associates upon a platform that unequivocally disregards, where it does not unequivocally disrespect, public ability and right to understand budgetary questions. Its chairman was one of the commission that proposed this Maryland amendment and was formerly one of President Taft's economy and efficiency commission, whose proposals for a national budget miscarried chiefly because they concentrated attention upon 'executive' and 'classification' to the disregard of 'people' or 'legislative' and 'understanding.'

"(2) The second force is that of a private accounting house whose head was also one of the commission which drafted the law under President Taft's commission. Apart from a personal enthusiasm for his own handiwork this commissioner naturally and legitimately uses the advertising agencies of the long-established accounting service to emphasize the merits of the Maryland amendment which he helped draw.

"(3) The third is a nation-wide advocacy of the Maryland amendment born of that gratitude which is a lively sense of favors to come. The mere fact that the Rockefeller foundation and the noted and devoted men who are on the board of the institute for governmental research are backing this proposal means that large numbers of persons wishing money and personal and institutional preferment and recognition instinctively and without question accept the Maryland proposal.

"(4) Fourthly, the mere fact that the Maryland proposal is something already formulated, easy to take and apparently answers many of the protests against helter-skelter budget making, combined with

"(5) A fifth force, the universal discontent and impatience with our blundering method of voting away state funds, gives this Maryland amendment backing to which intrinsic merit does not entitle it."

The moral of such a pamphlet is apparently this: That if you cannot fool all the people all the time, you can safely plan on at least fooling some of the people some of the time. Seriously, however, if the experience of the members of President Taft's commission on economy and efficiency

for three years, with all the resources of the national government at their disposal, backed by years of practical experience in the study of governmental affairs by each member—selected by the President for these reasons—coupled with the exceptional legal capacity and standing of the members of the governor of Maryland's commission, is not sufficient to provide a constitutional amendment for the state of Maryland which can withstand being shot full of holes by any whippersnapper "institute" which comes along hoping to advance itself by defaming others, then there is little use in attempting such reforms.

We all know, however, that such a conclusion is ludicrous, fully as ludicrous as the institute's alleged "serious objections."

Let the institute draw up an amendment, get it passed by a legislature, adopted by the people of a state, and then come to us with it. When it does that it will deserve, and we hope it will receive, appreciative comment and criticism. This is exactly what has been done in Maryland by those whom the institute is inclined to sneer at.

PITTSBURGH AND THE NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE¹

BY OLIVER MCCLINTOCK

Pittsburgh

WE, of the chamber of commerce, are very glad to have the members of the civic club as our guests to-day. It is fitting to thus come together, because of the very important subject to be considered, in which we are all deeply concerned, namely: the report of the council's special committee on taxation; and also because of the distinguished president of the National Municipal League, who is to address us on that subject. Both organizations are highly honored by his coming to Pittsburgh, and both are deeply interested in receiving instruction from him.

I request, just here, your indulgence for making a personal explanation, because of President Garland's allusion to my having recently received the honor of an election as vice-president of the National Municipal League. The true explanation is, that that honor was not conferred upon me because I had done anything to deserve it, but rather as a compliment to the Pittsburgh chamber of commerce, whom I had the honor of representing as their delegate to the Springfield convention. It was a token of the League's good-will and their recognition of the high standing and influence of the chamber. It expressed their desire to foster sympathetic and cordial relations between the two organizations and to secure the chamber's co-operation in the League's great task of quickening the citizenship and improving the government of the cities of the United States. Good citizenship, good city government and equitable taxation are the chief and essential things for us to seek, because they are the secure foundation upon which must rest the welfare and permanent prosperity of every city.

The chamber recalls, with grateful remembrance, the joint convention which the National Municipal League and the American Civic Association held in Pittsburgh in 1908, as the guests of the chamber, the civic club, the Pittsburgh board of trade and other civic organizations.

No city is more indebted to the National Municipal League than is Pittsburgh, for the quickening of our civic conscience, and our awakening to a realization of our civic needs, which that convention imparted to our citizens. From it came the stimulus and initiative which inspired the great citizen's movement in 1909, in behalf of a new city charter.

¹ Address introducing Lawson Purdy at a luncheon of the chamber of commerce of Pittsburgh, February 6, 1917.

The resistless momentum of its numbers and their determined purpose overwhelmed the partisan politicians and compelled the state legislature to set aside the traditional, but thoroughly discredited bi-cameral form of city councils, and to substitute for it our present small council of nine, elected at large and on a non-partisan ballot.

City Controller E. S. Morrow expected to be with us to-day but has been unavoidably prevented. We all love and honor him as the Nestor of our city government. He will confirm my statement, that that convention also imparted the initiative which gave Pittsburgh its improved budget system of appropriations and its improved methods of municipal accounting. Both were strongly urged, at that time, by LeGrand Powers, chief statistician of the U. S. census bureau. Our open-eyed and open-minded Controller Morrow, ever alert and watchful for the city's interests, seized upon these improved methods and introduced them into the management of his department of the city's finances.

You will all doubtless recall the wonderful civic exhibit displayed in the Carnegie galleries, in connection with that convention. Besides the model city budgets, shown by the bureau of municipal research of New York city in the interest of municipal efficiency, there was the exhibit of the committee on the congestion of population in New York city, illustrating the need of scientific city planning for the development of a city and the proper and natural distribution of the population by zones and the protection of residential districts from the injurious intrusion of manufactories.

There was also the exhibit of co-operative housing for workmen in European cities, also of industries and industrial conditions, with photographs of protected machinery in German manufactories. The civic club set forth Pittsburgh's system of playgrounds for children. Pittsburgh's department of public works had an exhibit, showing the operation of the new water-filtration plant, put in partial operation in 1908. The Pittsburgh tuberculosis league and the city bureau of health visualized by exhibits their joint fight against tuberculosis and typhoid fever, both preventable diseases.

Both had scourged Pittsburgh for twenty-five years, and typhoid had at last become epidemic, filling us with consternation because of its widespread ravages. That it was a water-borne disease, preventable by the use of filtered water, was demonstrated, beyond a doubt, by the astounding figures of the vital statistics of the years preceding the change to filtered water in 1908, compared with the years following that change.

In 1906, there were 5,649 cases, with 508 deaths. There were 3,000 deaths in the whole state of Pennsylvania.

In 1907, there were 5,421 cases, with 622 deaths.

In 1908, with filtration in partial operation, there were 1,833 cases or about one-third the number for the preceding year.

Coming down to the present, in 1915 when the records of the bureau of health began to differentiate between resident and non-resident cases, there were 262 cases of residents with 37 deaths. In 1916, there were 218 cases of residents with 31 deaths, showing conclusively that filtered water has practically eliminated typhoid fever from Pittsburgh.

But, the uncomputed bill of economic loss representing the thousands of lives needlessly sacrificed and the untold sufferings of many thousands more of the living, stands as a terrible bill of indictment for incompetence and inefficiency against the city government, they being charged officially during those years with the responsibility for finding the remedy.

But, may we not justly say that the primary responsibility belonged to the apathetic citizenship of the manufacturers and merchants, the bankers and leading citizens, who were so engrossed in their mills and banks and merchandise, that they failed to take that active interest in the public welfare, which ought and which could have inspired and controlled the city officials into taking the required action for delivering the city from the typhoid pestilence?

I fear that I may seem to have exceeded the proprieties of my function as introducer of the speaker by this digression to the National Municipal League convention of 1908, and its civic exhibit and the uplift and benefit they imparted to Pittsburgh, and that I have gone too far afield from Taxation, the announced topic of the day.

But, I have done so for two reasons. The first is, that I want to emphasize the fact that the humanitarian work for the physical and moral welfare of the people, which our local civic club has performed so efficiently and successfully, and the quickening of citizenship and improvement in the municipal government of American cities, in which the National Municipal League has achieved such large success, are both of fundamental importance to the stability and permanence of our commercial prosperity.

Those members of the chamber, who want less civics and more of commercialism in the activities of the chamber, who claim that the exclusive function of the chamber should be to expand the city's commercial interests, to increase the tonnage of the mills, to construct vast manufacturing and pile up huge bank deposits, who would banish civics as entirely foreign to these commercial aims and would relegate them to the domain of soft-hearted humanitarians and high-browed theorists; these members must awaken and realize that comfortable and sanitary living, the physical and moral welfare and happiness of the laborer and artisan and their families are of fundamental importance, both in the attainment and also in the permanence of commercial prosperity.

This narrow point of view, which would eliminate civics and philanthropy from the function of the chamber of commerce as unneces-

sary and foreign, must give place to the broader point of view, which realizes that improved and sanitary housing of workmen, the elimination of preventable diseases, the establishment of parks for the people and playgrounds for the children, the conservation of the young men of the city, spiritually, morally, mentally and physically by the beneficent work of the Y. M. C. A., the regulation of child labor, compensation for the loss of life or limb by workmen, the protection of machinery against accident, an adequate building code for protecting the community from loss by fire, a greater efficiency in municipal government and the elimination of partisan politics from municipal administration; that all of these things make for a reduction in waste and economic loss, and therefore are potent and fundamental factors in the productive capacity and commercial efficiency of Pittsburgh.

The second reason for my digression is, that I wanted to fix your attention upon the obligation we owe to the League, consequent upon its generosity of service to Pittsburgh, to co-operate with it and help hold up its hands in extending its benefits to other American cities. You can do this most effectively by taking an active membership at \$5, or a contributing membership at \$25. It should be considered that no small part of the benefits received by members consists in their being entitled to receive free, the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW. This quarterly is an invaluable repository of able articles and current information upon the progress of municipal government in the United States. The National Municipal League has been the pioneer in arousing public interest in the improvement of municipal government, and its quarterly registers its progress in a well ordered and readable form. Owing to the increased cost of printing and the lack of adequate funds, the League has been compelled to reduce the number of its pages during the past year.

Another good reason for taking a membership, springing out of the present occasion, is that of gratitude. It would be an indirect compliment to Lawson Purdy, president of the League, and a token of your cordial appreciation of his generous service to you, in taking time out of his very busy life, and with much personal inconvenience to himself, to come to Pittsburgh to address you.

I now have the honor of introducing to you the speaker of the day, Hon. Lawson Purdy, president of the National Municipal League and president of the department of taxes and assessments of the borough of Manhattan. Of him the Hon. William Dudley Foulke, in giving place to him as his successor in the presidency of the League, said: "He is perhaps the ablest in America to deal with the most important remaining problem that now lies before us in our municipal program,—the problem of municipal taxation."

NEW ORLEANS' INCREASING POLITICAL HEALTH

BY E. E. MOÏSE¹

New Orleans

SOME sensational incidents of the last five months have thrown a bright light on government by a commission of five in New Orleans. One hesitates to say "commission government," because, as was pointed out in the article on this subject in the January issue of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW,² the New Orleans charter lacks many features of the usual commission charter, and the commissioners were chosen by the "regular Democratic organization" on a strictly partisan basis.

The one effective provision, which concentrates executive and legislative authority in the hands of five administrative officials, instead of dividing it between 23 aldermen, six department heads and a mayor, has once more demonstrated its value. The net result of a double attack upon the city hall by reform forces led by clergymen and women opposed to race-track gambling, and by a disgruntled race-track gambler with a newspaper, whom Mayor Martin Behrman had "double-crossed," is that what the administration organ aptly termed "a policy of unobtrusive non-observance of the law" is no longer so popular as before. In fact, the laws requiring Sunday closing, segregation of the races in saloons, forbidding the sale of liquor to minors and to women, and confining houses of prostitution to certain restricted districts, are enforced to-day as they have not been in years. Most significant of all, the owner of the administration newspaper aforesaid, the National Democratic committeeman, and "boss" of the tenth ward, the city and the state, has for the time at least aligned himself with the forces of reform.

These phenomena grew out of a deal between the mayor and the race-track operator from Jacksonville, who was then running his gamble at Havana. This man, H. D. (Curley) Brown, bought a race track after he received assurances from the mayor (according to his sworn testimony) that he should enjoy the privilege of violating the law against that form of gambling so long as residents of New Orleans had the same privilege. Brown was ready to operate when the mayor, under some undisclosed pressure, reversed himself and began applying all the force he could bring to bear to compel him to sell his track to the local track people, known as the "business men's racing association." The mayor and the commissioner of public safety, Harold Newman, having failed to induce Brown

¹ Of the *New Orleans Item* staff.

² NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. vi, p. 73.

to give up, called in commissioner of public property, E. E. Lafaye, at whose suggestion an ordinance was passed restricting the privilege of violating the anti-race-gamble law to "native sons." Brown, a citizen of Florida, knew the ordinance would not stand in the federal courts but realized that he faced a losing fight and decided to hold out for all the money the B. M. R. A. could pay for his newly acquired property.

Brown got out of the deal with \$50,000 profit and a grudge. He had acquired a newspaper, the *Orleans American*, which has since suspended publication. It had attracted little attention so long as its columns oozed fulsome eulogy of the mayor, but when its editor, Hugh Arnott O'Donnell, began to tell the people obvious truths about the city hall, and to hint at possibilities not so obvious nor so true, "things happened."

It was on January 6 that he laid the basis for a libel suit filed by the commission council January 9, by inquiring editorially "whether the politicians or the city treasury would finance the purchase of a second race-track (the one then operated under lease) by the business men's racing association?" It was known that they had promised to donate to the city for park purposes the one purchased from Brown under pressure from the municipal authorities, and the editorial was interpreted as a charge that the commissioners intended to buy a gambling enterprise with public money.

Simultaneously, the *American* started a series of news stories and editorials on flagrant law violations; and a movement among clergymen and men and women who had for years been fighting for social reforms was crystallized into the citizen's league, formed to conduct an active attack on the race-track gamble. Miss Jean Gordon, their secretary, has long been conspicuous as a tireless and effective worker for woman suffrage, child labor legislation, and its enforcement, and against race-track gambling and other social evils. Even the two newspapers which were supporting the administration called for "moderate law enforcement"; and the *Item* carefully reprinted all the editorials on the subject, and every news story from the *American* whose facts could be immediately substantiated.

Public opinion was sufficiently aroused to induce the commissioner of public safety to enforce the Sunday-closing law against the saloons and to make an attempt to move professional vice into the district set aside for it. Sunday closing immediately became generally popular with everybody but the brewers, liquor dealers, vendors of other facilities for dissipation and the mayor, who has since suffered with a grouch that has some symptoms of melancholia. The law makes the mayor responsible for the police; but, as the commissioner of public safety had claimed credit for some easy reforms in the force, the mayor publicly fixed the responsibility on him,—and he responded, with a grimace of pain. Most of the disorderly houses outside the district have been closed and it is probable that

all but the most quietly operated will remain closed. Rumors that the commissioner of public safety intends to resign are prevalent. He denies them. They are credited by a few who believe him to be a "quitter." It appears probable that he will not resign and that he will do whatever he can to see that the laws are better enforced.

The editor of the *American* was convicted and sentenced by a judge who expressed doubt of his guilt; and he now has an appeal pending in the supreme court. Brown's testimony at the trial was a revelation to the public and greatly stimulated opposition to the illegal race-gamble. Information based on affidavits against the business men's racing association have been filed by a district attorney who is politically intimate with the national committeeman, and who had previously been blind and deaf to similar evidence. The protagonists of the gamble attack the mayor for stirring up a row with Brown that they think will lead to its abolition; and the opponents feel kindly toward the district attorney.

The incidents that led to better enforcement of the Sunday-closing law and to the attempt to restrict disorderly houses to the "vice district" would have led to nothing notable under the aldermanic form of government. Similar flare-ups in those years had no appreciable results. The mayor and the commissioners now find it impossible to escape public scrutiny of their actions and inactions. Such escape for their predecessors was easy. The movement against the existence of the restricted district has been strengthened and the passage of an injunction and abatement law has been brought nearer. The broadest result is evidenced by a more general questioning of that tenet of the city hall, once arrogantly maintained, that New Orleans prospers through the patronage of tourists attracted by horse racing, unrestricted indoor gambling, law-breaking saloons and other facilities for dissipation. Not even the mayor has had the temerity to re-announce his formerly blatant allegiance to the "wide open town" since the disgusted gambler's suddenly "reformed" newspaper reached for his scalp.

A striking symptom of increasing political health (which has sufficiently increased to place New Orleans on the list of municipal convalescents) is the fact that a railroad, seeking a franchise for a new passenger terminal, is appealing to public opinion by stating its case in the newspapers. The railroad has announced that it will not pay one cent except for value received and that it will do without its ordinance rather than submit to the demands of the protestants against its project, who are led by a politician asking the road to buy his property, which it does not need, at three times its value. No such campaign has ever before been conducted in New Orleans by a public service corporation, which in the days of the aldermanic council, would have done its negotiating "in the dark" and "on the quiet." This one is throwing the searchlight on the "reasons" for disapproving the proposed ordinance put forward by former

Commissioner of Public Utilities W. B. Thompson and others by the incumbent, E. J. Glenny.

Another symptom of improving health is the offer of the street railways monopoly to submit to the judgment of a semi-official committee on its service and abide by its suggestions. The offer avowedly made for the purpose of forestalling an amendment to the ordinance requiring an excessive bond, which had put the jitneys out of business last year, has been accepted at its face value. The investigation of the service is now in progress, under the supervision of Commissioners Lafaye and Glenny. If it does not result in a marked improvement in street railway conditions, and in an adjustment which will allow at least a partial supplementary jitney service, the people of New Orleans will know whom to hold responsible for this.

No close observers believe the public is entirely awake to the possibilities of control over its officials brought about by concentrating power and responsibility in a commission of five. But the public has had a "taste of blood" and the immediate prospect is that the results will be important.

PUBLIC MARKETS IN **THE UNITED STATES**

The second report of the Committee on the Relation of the City to Its Food Supply is published under the above title and will be mailed on request to members. Additional copies can be had at the rate of fifty cents each.

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THE CLEVELAND EDUCATIONAL SURVEY

THE Cleveland educational survey is a significant piece of work calling for attention from various angles. Accordingly the editor of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW asked an educational expert in the person of Howard W. Nudd, secretary of the public education association of New York, and Albert deRoode, a public-spirited member of the New York bar, to examine the several volumes from their respective viewpoints. The result is produced herewith in parallel columns showing the reaction of the same piece of work upon independent observers. Following is a list of the reports making up the survey:

Child Accounting in the Public Schools, Leonard P. Ayres; Educational Extension, Clarence A. Perry; Education through Recreation, George E. Johnson; Financing the Public Schools, Earle Clark; Health Work in the Public Schools, Leonard P. Ayres; Household Arts and School Lunches, Alice C. Boughton; Measuring the Work of the Public Schools, Charles H. Judd; Overcrowded Schools and the Platoon Plan, S. O. Hartwell; School Buildings and Equipment, Leonard P. Ayres; Schools and Classes for Exceptional Children, David Mitchell; School Organization and Administration, Leonard P. Ayres; The Public Library and the Public Schools; The School and the Immigrant; The Teaching Staff, Walter A. Jessup; What the Schools Teach and Might Teach, Franklin Bobbitt; The Cleveland School Survey (Summary volume), Leonard P. Ayres; Boys and Girls in Commercial Work, Bertha M. Stevens; Department Store Occupations, Iris Prouty O'Leary; Dressmaking and Millinery, Edna C. Bryner; Railroad and Street Transportation, R. G. Fleming; The Building Trades, F. L. Shaw; The Garment Trades, Edna C. Bryner; The Metal Trades, R. R. Lutz; The Printing Trades, F. L. Shaw; Wage Earning and Education (Summary volume), R. R. Lutz.

These have been bound in boards and cloth in pocket size. They can be obtained at \$7 the set from the survey committee of the Cleveland foundation, 612 St. Clair avenue N. E., Cleveland, Ohio.

It is difficult to summarize in a few words the significance of the Cleveland survey as a contribution to public education. It is without doubt the most comprehensive and suggestive school survey yet made. Its value lies not only in its specific recommendations for improving the Cleveland schools, but also in the standard of method it has established, which will have lasting influence upon future school inquiries.

The auspices under which the Cleveland educational survey were conducted warrant thorough and extended consideration of the published results. Additional importance is given to the work because, as stated in one of the monographs ("Educational Extension" by C. A. Perry, page 17):

What is found to be true in this Ohio city will also be found to be applicable in

Every study in the field of education which adds to the sum of accurate and specific information on points generally understood and accepted is in itself a valuable contribution, but when it points out new ways of measurement and evaluation and new ways of making the technique of education intelligible to the public, its value is immensely enhanced. The directors of the Cleveland survey aimed systematically to stimulate the public and the schoolmen to constructive action through carefully planned conferences, between the surveyors and those particularly concerned, at which the findings of the several studies were thoroughly discussed before publication. This not only enabled the staff to correct errors of fact, but served to prevent charges of bad faith and to win dispassionate and intelligent consideration of the monographs when published.

Those who do not wish to read all of the twenty-five monographs comprising the survey, which present in detail the special aspects of the educational system, will find in the two summary volumes a splendid digest of the aims, method, findings and recommendations.

In the first summary volume, entitled "Wage Earning and Education," R. R. Lutz of the Sage foundation has strikingly analyzed the opportunities for wage earning in Cleveland and has formulated from a study of the distribution of adult workers in the various occupations what he designates an actuarial basis for vocational education. His contention is that the haphazard method of providing vocational opportunities which has characterized the educational programs of so many communities in the past is not only economically wasteful but educationally unsound. The type and extent of vocational education afforded by a public school system, he maintains, should have a direct relation to the opportunities in the community for using it. He emphasizes also in a gratifying way the unsoundness of specific vocational training for young children and the need of enriching the curriculum of the elementary grades with practical work opportunities along general and fundamental lines which will enable children to discover their aptitudes and

practically every other municipality of the United States.

We have thus a survey of a typical public educational system and the facts, conclusions and recommendations bear gravely upon the public instruction in this country.

There are two fields to be considered in this review:

1. The facts.

2. The conclusions and recommendations based upon these facts.

As to the first field, that of fact, the presentation by the survey itself is the best review. Undoubtedly the facts published are reasonably accurate although one gains the impression through the constant commingling of fact and theory that they are collated to prove *a priori* educational theories. Still this seems to be the chief use of facts in this day and generation.

One series of facts, however, is of grave significance scarcely appreciated by the surveyors.

In "Child Accounting in the Public Schools" by L. P. Ayres, it appears, pages 66 to 67:

According to a study conducted by the survey, 29 per cent of the children in the elementary schools of Cleveland are above the normal ages for their grades. This is a smaller proportion of over-age children than is found in most other cities.

According to a study conducted by the survey, 32 per cent of the children in the elementary schools have made slow progress. This is a better record than is made by the average city.

The children who constitute one of the gravest of educational problems are those who are both over-age for their grades and are making slow progress. In Cleveland 22 per cent of the children belong to this class. There are more than 15,000 of them.

Certainly if the Cleveland system is typical of the general public school system in municipalities and if the statistics for Cleveland are better than in the average municipality it is apparent that our present public school system is notably inefficient. If nearly one quarter of our elementary pupils are over-age and backward our school system is failing in its purpose.

It is in the field of conclusion and recommendation, however, that the survey demands the instant attention of every thoughtful citizen and parent. If the

secure the fundamental knowledge and skill essential to making a wise choice when the time for intensive specialized training arrives. The concrete application of these theses to the Cleveland situation makes this volume exceptionally helpful and suggestive to educators and laymen, in large cities especially, who are grappling with the difficult problem of vocational education.

The usefulness of this volume is increased by the chapters summarizing the monographs dealing with the specific vocational studies, such as, "Boys and girls in commercial work," "Department store occupations," etc. These chapters not only give the gist of the findings and recommendations of the original studies but place them in proper perspective to the general subject.

In the second summary volume, "The Cleveland School Survey," by Dr. Leonard P. Ayres, who directed the survey, a concise and comprehensive view of the so-called purely educational studies is presented. This volume is a veritable mine of information and inspiration to educators and laymen alike, and creates effectively a desire to go more deeply into the special topics treated in the individual monographs summarized. There is hardly a question of administration, supervision, and teaching, which is not commented upon forcefully on the basis of carefully evaluated data. Special emphasis is given to the original contributions of the survey in the field of educational measurement.

Of the special studies, schoolmen will be particularly interested in the monograph entitled, "Measuring the Work of the Public Schools," by Professor Charles H. Judd, of the University of Chicago. This volume is a real contribution to the scientific study of education. It presents in a telling fashion the achievements of the children in the Cleveland schools as judged by the best known standards of scientific measurement of school progress. It has been discussed more widely in educational circles and has had a larger sale than any of the other monographs. Its value lies not only in the additional light it throws upon conclusions already established by recognized standard tests, but also in the

principles and theories propounded are to influence our public educational system and if those holding these theories are to have a hand in shaping the education of our youth, it is well that we should be acquainted therewith.

The reviewer challenges the survey on the following points:

1. The attitude toward education is crassly materialistic.
2. The political theory as to public education is undemocratic.
3. The underlying principles respecting educational methods and practices are pedagogically unsound.
4. The survey is a catchpot of absurd fads and educational foibles.

As to the materialistic basis of the survey a glance at the titles of the different monographs is illuminating. "Child Accounting in the Public Schools" is one title,—as if children were to be lumped together as so many cogs in a machine or so many pigs in a stock yard and their social and mechanical values computed. Throughout, there is the constant application of what may be called the "mass theory" of human life, in which individuals are deemed important only as they constitute groups and classes contributing to the material welfare of the whole. This materialistic attitude is emphasized by the constant use of the present day jargon of business utility and the shibboleths of "efficiency." An indication of the materialistic attitude may be gathered from the following excerpts:

"Summary Volume," page 120:

The social point of view herein expressed is sometimes characterized as being *utilitarian*. It may be; but not in any narrow or undesirable sense.

"What the Schools Teach and Might Teach," page 77:

Most of our civic and social problems are at bottom *industrial* problems.

"Education Extension," page 26:

In a democratic society the *motive of self preservation* demands public measures for insuring that all its young and its handicapped individuals should be fitted to discharge with at least a minimum of competency the duties of citizenship.

When we come to the political theories of the survey we meet a fundamentally

new contributions it makes to educational measurement, particularly in the field of reading and arithmetic. The conclusions regarding these tests are made so judiciously that they will be of signal service in establishing public confidence in the value of scientific tests and measurements in education.

This volume is a striking example, also, of what can be accomplished through the skilful use of the graphic method in presenting statistical data and by paying heed to the appetizing effect upon the reader of attractive typography and the simplification of statistical tables. No survey can be truly successful which fails to "put over with a punch" its findings and recommendations. Professor Judd's study is unique in this respect. Furthermore, by setting forth in an elaborate appendix the scales and tests which were used and the directions which were given for applying them, it has been made a veritable text-book for students of education.

The monograph on "Overcrowded Schools and the Platoon Plan" by Superintendent Hartwell, of Kalamazoo, Michigan, has also created wide comment, which has been due, doubtless, to the nation-wide discussion of the work-study-play schools of Superintendent Wirt of Gary, Indiana. To those who are interested primarily in the enriched school life which the flexible program of the Gary plan provides, this volume is disappointing. The platoon type of organization recommended utilizes little more than the traditional activities of the school and increases only slightly the capacity. It misses almost entirely the spirit of the work-study-play school as developed by Mr. Wirt. While it will doubtless be of assistance, therefore, to those who are seeking to solve the problem of school congestion without changing materially traditional school practice, it will have little influence with those who are seeking to enrich the school life with social values made possible by using extensively the auditorium and playground, and by vitalizing the old academic training through supplementing it, from the kindergarten to the college, with practical activities in the workrooms and science laboratories and in the community

wrong conception of democracy. The entire survey proceeds upon the theory that the value of education is the development of useful citizens of a state which is something separate from and superior to the individuals composing it. Children as potential citizens exist merely for the benefit of this state, the welfare of which is measured by its material progress. The idea of a government of the people, by the people and for the people, has no place in the survey. For example, "Educational Extension"

If the masses are to participate in the task of ruling themselves, they must be trained for the job. . . . Left entirely to themselves it is not certain that the mass of people would secure that knowledge of how the government is run and how the people outside of their own spheres live which is necessary to intelligent civic action.—Page 26.

The function of the school is to assume, and thereby improve, the carrying on of those activities, not adequately managed by any other social agency, which prepare human beings for useful membership in a democratic society.—Page 34.

The political theory of the survey seems to be "government of the people, by the schools, for the teachers and educational experts."

In the field of purely educational method and theory there is a fundamental and corrupting principle of the survey which is pedagogically unsound. In "What the Schools Teach and Might Teach" by one Franklin Bobbitt, page 101, this principle is set forth as follows:

The fundamental social point of view of this discussion of the courses of study of the Cleveland schools is that effective teaching is preparation for adult life through participation in the activities of life.

The only correct basis of education is training *for*, not *in*, the activities of adult life. This theory of a child being a miniature adult capable of being educated by diluted experience and training in the activities and mental processes of adults is at the root of much of our educational evil. The beginning of all educational wisdom is the recognition that a child is essentially different from an adult, not merely in degree but in characteristic functions. This "Lilliputian" theory of education results in the production of

life of the school and neighborhood.

Superintendents, members of boards of education, and those interested primarily in the problems of school organization and administration will find the monograph by Dr. Ayres on that subject of great value. The analysis of the Cleveland situation and the solution suggested give the key to the solution of administrative problems in practically every city school system of the country. The compact scheme of organization proposed, with centralized professional responsibility and leadership—which has recently been secured, as a result of the survey, through the election of Superintendent Spaulding—is absolutely sound. In fact, it is fundamental to all other measures of administrative reform in the public schools.

The contribution of the survey to the method of reaching and interesting the public in school affairs, although already commented upon, cannot be too highly praised. Before publication, each section of the report was put into tentative final form, revised by the author and director, and submitted to careful study and discussion at a conference of local school people and the members of the survey committee. In this way, all questions of fact were submitted for discussion to the persons primarily concerned, and changes made wherever error was clearly found. The survey committee reserved, of course, the right to make on its own behalf whatever recommendations it deemed desirable. After each report had thus been checked up and printed, it was presented to the public, before release to the press, at one of a series of weekly public luncheons, at which the essential points were outlined for discussion by either the author or the director. In this way, the schoolmen were fully informed before the publication of the findings, and the particular monograph was released to the public under favorable auspices.

Those who are familiar with the New York school inquiry,¹ made a few years ago, will appreciate the value of this method of publication. The New York inquiry, like the Cleveland survey, was published in a series of monographs, each

nothing but "smart Alecks," or perhaps, to accord with the language of the survey, one should say "immature sciolists."

A few illustrations of the absurdity to which this point of view is carried may be cited:

"What the Schools Teach and Might Teach," page 30:

The purpose of real reading is to enter into the thought and emotional experience of the writer; not to study the methods by which the author expressed himself.

Fancy a child in its second year of high school entering into the emotional experiences of Franklin's autobiography and "The Vision of Sir Launfal," which constitute part of the prescribed reading in the Cleveland high schools.

The history should be so taught that it will have a demonstrably practical purpose. . . . The history should be developed on the basis of topics . . . we have in mind such topics as: (Here follows a list of 57 varieties among which may be cited "Sociological aspects of war," "Capital and labor," "Taxation," "Government control of corporations," "Conservation of natural resources," "Women in industry," and "Co-operative buying and selling.")—Page 56.

Portions of any of these topics would amply serve for Ph.D. theses. It is comforting, however, to know that this expert recognizes the need of some training in history as it is generally understood, for he says, page 59:

Naturally students must have some familiarity with the general time relations of history and the general chronological movements of affairs before they understand the more or less specialized treatment of individual topics.

As might naturally be expected from the unsoundness of the underlying point of view the survey has served as a catchpot for fads and foibles. The whole survey seems to have been seized upon by those conducting it as an opportunity for exploiting pet whims without any desire for constructive improvement or real analysis of the educational situation. When an author of what purports to be a serious monograph on educational extension writes the following:

As Percival Chubb has remarked, "If man can no longer save his soul through his work—and only a few of us can under

¹ See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. ii, pp. 88 and 92, vol. iii, p. 327.

dealing with a specific phase of the school system; but the monographs of the New York inquiry were not attractively printed, nor were they written, in many instances, in a style that would attract and hold the attention of the general public and the majority of the teaching body. Furthermore, they were not tactfully released. The schoolmen whose work was criticized were given practically no opportunity to see or to comment upon the findings until after the reports were published, and the first impressions—usually the most lasting—which the public received, were secured from inadequate and misleading newspaper digests. As a result, the New York inquiry was received with great hostility, and the public and the schoolmen wasted their energies in fruitless wrangling over misunderstood motives and misrepresented facts, instead of in constructive discussion of ways to improve the schools.

The primary purpose of a school survey is to educate the public regarding the needs of the schools. Unless it does so effectively and wins general support, it is not only useless, involving useless expenditure, but it may be actually harmful and act as a retarding influence. In contrast with the New York school inquiry as a type of survey which failed to make the most of its opportunities, therefore, the Cleveland survey is a shining example. Taking advantage of the weak points of the New York inquiry, which was a pioneer in the field, it has shown the way toward achieving maximum results for the money expended and for the stupendous and painstaking work a comprehensive school survey entails.

HOWARD W. NUDD.¹

¹ Director, public education association of the city of New York.

modern conditions—there is all the greater reason why he should be enabled to save his soul through his play—

one is prepared for pretty nearly anything in the way of a fad. But perhaps the prize absurdity is a monograph on "Education through Recreation." A few excerpts will suffice:

The school-room is ill adapted to serve as a laboratory of citizenship or for the practice of democracy. School-room management is established on an almost purely autocratic basis. The teacher is much more like a ruler on a throne than like a president or a parent. Unless other satisfactory provision is made, then, from the standpoint of preparation for citizenship, the recess can no more safely be omitted from the school program than can the study of American history.—Page 15.

Therefore, the organization of inter-group school games in a democratic country is a fundamental duty and unavoidable responsibility of the educational system.—Page 36.

Play, by which is meant the organic predisposition towards characteristic human activity, preceded work in the race as activities preceded subject matter.—Page 86.

The reviewer offers a reward of \$5 for the most lucid explanation of the phrase "organic predisposition towards characteristic human activity." It reminds one of Mark Twain's comment that "there is a great deal of human nature in mankind." The contention that "activities preceded subject matter" contains as much error as could possibly be crowded into four words though the phrase serves well to indicate the character of the survey's own activities.

The net result of the survey seems to have been the publication of twenty-five volumes neatly bound and attractive in appearance. The content of the volumes is unimportant except for two things:

First: The fact that the public school system in a typical municipality has failed measurably in that nearly one quarter of the elementary pupils are over age and backward.

Second: That the only conception of a remedy by those who have conducted the survey is to raise to the *n*th power the very theories and methods which have resulted in the breakdown of the public school system.

ALBERT DE ROODE.¹

¹ Of the New York bar.

NOTES AND EVENTS

I. GOVERNMENT AND ADMINISTRATION

The Consolidation of Governmental Agencies in Illinois.—The recent administrative reorganization in the state of Illinois was based upon an investigation made by an efficiency and economy committee created by the 48th general assembly of Illinois in 1913. This committee, under the chairmanship of Senator Walter I. Manny, selected Prof. John A. Fairlie of the University of Illinois as director, and prepared a very careful and comprehensive report upon all of the state's administrative activities. This report,¹ which covered more than one thousand pages, was submitted to the general assembly in 1915; with the report were submitted drafts of bills which, if adopted, would have reorganized the state administration, and have consolidated the greater part of the public legislation of the state. However, the bills were presented somewhat late in the session, and received little consideration; one or two smaller pieces of legislation were enacted upon the recommendation of the committee, but nothing further was done.

Governor Frank O. Lowden made his campaign for the Republican nomination and for election largely upon the issue of a state administrative reorganization.² Upon his election in November, 1916, he at once began tentative drafts of a measure which would bring about this reorganization, and when the legislature met early in January, 1917, a tentative measure was already in form for consideration. Separate committees were constituted in both the house and the senate for the consideration of the proposed administrative consolidation; a bill was agreed upon by

the house committee, was passed, and with some amendments enacted by the senate. Upon the report of a conference committee, a bill known as "the civil administrative code" was enacted, and this bill received the governor's approval on March 7. The act comes into effect on July 1.

This code consolidates into nine departments fifty or more functions and departments previously independent of each other. The consolidation is by no means complete, and many of the state functions remain independent of any one of the newly organized departments, but Illinois through this measure has accomplished the most thorough-going administrative reorganization that has yet been achieved in any state. The code has left as it stands the whole tax situation, and Illinois is very badly in need of a small central tax commission, but it seemed necessary that this wait, inasmuch as to attempt an administrative reorganization and a reorganization of the tax system at the same time may well have caused the failure of each.

Under the new code the state government is divided into nine principal departments: Finance, agriculture, labor, mines and minerals, public works and buildings, public welfare, public health, trade and commerce, registration and education. At the head of each is a director who generally has complete supervision over its work. Several boards independent of the directors are continued, such as the public utilities commission, and an industrial commission for the administration of the workmen's compensation act. A number of other boards or commissions are provided, but in general the boards other than the ones specified above are advisory in character, the final authority for action resting in the director. For the five normal schools

¹See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. v, p. 147.

²The Hon. Morton D. Hull, state senator from Chicago, who was a candidate for the Republican nomination against Governor Lowden, was largely responsible for forcing this particular issue, which Governor Lowden promptly met and has faithfully fulfilled.—EDITOR.

a different plan was necessary. Each of these has until the present time been under the control of a separate board. The five are now placed under the control of a single board, with the director of education and registration as chairman, and with the superintendent of public instruction (a constitutional officer) as secretary.

This consolidation of independent state agencies may properly be regarded as the most important single thing done by the code. However, two other things of importance should be mentioned: (1) As a part of the plan of consolidation, provision is made for substantially all purchases for the state government and its institutions through the new department of public works and buildings. (2) Through the department of finance, budget information is to be collected and a budget is to be submitted to the general assembly by the governor at the beginning of each biennial session. The plans for central purchasing and for a budget could hardly have been carried out without the consolidation of previously independent departments and offices.

This reorganization does not affect either the constitutional or the present statutory functions of the state offices created by the constitution. Other than the governor there are now five: The lieutenant-governor, the attorney-general, the auditor of public accounts, the superintendent of public instruction, the secretary of state and the state treasurer. The lieutenant-governor has no administrative functions, but each of the other constitutional state officers has large functions under the constitution and other functions conferred by statute. For example, the auditor of public accounts has supervision over state banks, and the secretary of state issues licenses for motor vehicles. The state library is and remains under the supervision of the secretary of state.

A number of offices or departments created by statute are also not brought under the new administrative organization. The University of Illinois retains its independent organization; the board of equalization remains the state tax authority; the adjutant-general is not

included in the new organization nor is the state civil service commission. Something can still be done by statute to complete the administrative reorganization, and to bring all the executive agencies of the state under the nine new departments. However, so far as the constitutional state officers are concerned, a change can be made only by an amendment or revision of the constitution.

A joint resolution was adopted by the legislature in March providing for the submission to a vote of the people in November, 1918, of the question as to whether a constitutional convention should be assembled. To this convention will fall the determination as to whether the constitutional state officers other than the governor shall be reduced in number or in power, or whether the situation shall be left as it now is. Perhaps the most important thing to be considered by a convention is, however, a general rearrangement of governmental powers, with special reference to the powers of the general assembly. At the present time the latter is so hedged about by constitutional restrictions that the doing of anything in the way of effective legislation is very difficult. Of course it is out of the question as yet to know whether the people will approve of the assembling of a convention, but the movement for a convention has been under way for a number of years, and popular sentiment seems at the present time to be quite strongly in its favor.

Under the new administrative code a number of directors of departments have already been appointed, and in their appointment the governor has sought the best men whom he could prevail upon to serve, without reference to political considerations. The new administrative organization will therefore get under way upon the first of July, 1917, under conditions which promise very well for its success.¹

W. F. DODD.

¹We had hoped to have an equally comprehensive account of the Kansas legislation to the same effect, promoted by the Hon. Arthur Capper, governor of that state, but the necessary data have not been received in time, and so it will not be treated until the July issue.—EDITOR.

North Carolina's Optional City Charter and Municipal Finance Laws.—The North Carolina legislature of 1915 provided for the submission to the people of the state of four amendments to the state constitution, which were adopted by the voters at the November, 1916, election. They contained provisions greatly restricting the powers of the legislature in the matter of local, private, and special legislation, and, in particular, making it the duty of the legislature "to provide by general laws for the organization of cities, towns, and incorporated villages, and to restrict their power of taxation, assessment, borrowing money, contracting debts, and loaning their credit, so as to prevent abuses in assessment and in contracting debts by such municipal corporations."

The act submitting the above amendments to the people provided that, if adopted, they should become effective January 10, 1917. When the legislature of 1917 met on January 3, members introduced and pressed many hundreds of local and special bills which they desired to pass before the constitutional amendments came into force. A large proportion of these bills were measures desired in cities, towns, and villages to authorize local projects or regulations. In view of the avalanche of measures which had to be dealt with in six legislative days, both houses appointed a number of special committees to examine and report on the proposed measures with all possible speed. As the result, some five or six hundred local and special measures became law before January 10, a period in the ordinary legislative session when there would be practically no output of laws.

The North Carolina bar association had, before the legislative session, appointed a committee to prepare a draft of a general law for the organization of cities, which should be advocated in the legislature as a compliance with the requirement of the constitutional amendment. A committee from the Carolina league of municipalities co-operated with the bar association in this work. The joint committee of the two bodies finally agreed on an optional city charter bill and

a municipal finance bill. The former became law on March 6, and the latter on March 5, 1917.

In the main, the new municipal government law continues in force general and special laws which have been hitherto enacted for the government of cities. It contains a comprehensive statement of the powers conferred upon the governing bodies of the cities of the state. Where it confers greater powers than those already possessed by cities governed under special charters, the new powers are supplementary to those already possessed under the special charters. Machinery is provided whereby any city of the state may at its option, by vote of the people, adopt instead of its present system of government one of the general plans of government described in the law.

Plan A provides for city government by a mayor and a city council elected biennially, the council being of from three to nine members, according to the population of the city, elected at large. Nine members are provided in cities of over 20,000 inhabitants. The council has the legislative powers of the city and elects all heads of departments and members of the city boards. The mayor may, with the approval of the majority of the members of the city council, remove heads of departments. The mayor is given the veto power, but he may be overruled by a two-thirds vote of the city council.

Plan B provides for a mayor, with a city council elected partly by wards and partly at large, the council to be composed of eleven or twelve members, varying with the number of wards in the city. Each ward is to have one member, and the remaining members are to be elected at large. The respective powers of the mayor and council are similar to those granted under Plan A, except that the mayor's veto may be set aside by a simple majority of the council.

Plan C is the commission form of government with three commissioners elected by the people to their respective departments. The mayor is to be commissioner of administration and finance, to preside over the board of commissioners, to represent

the city formally, and to exercise a general supervision and oversight over the affairs of the city, reporting delinquencies of officers to the board. The other members of the board are the commissioners of public works and of public safety. This plan includes the initiative, referendum and recall. Two candidates for each commissionership are selected in a primary open to anyone who files proper notice and pays the sum of \$5. The final election is restricted to the candidates nominated in the primary.

Plan D provides for a mayor, city council, and city manager. The council is to consist of five members elected biennially at large. The member of the city council who receives the highest vote is to be mayor. The council possesses all the legislative powers of the city, and appoints a city manager to hold office during its pleasure. The city manager is to be appointed with regard to merit only, need not be a resident when appointed, has full powers to appoint and remove city officers and employes, and is responsible for the administration of all departments. He must report his acts to the council.

Plans A and D may also be submitted to the voters of a city with the addition of the initiative, referendum, and recall.

After providing these plans, the new law goes even farther and give the cities of the state a broad authority to frame charter amendments for themselves, or even to adopt new "home rule" charters which meet their peculiar requirements better than the above plans. Such amendments and charters may be adopted when not in conflict with the constitution and general laws of the state, and machinery for the purpose is provided in the law just enacted.

Charlotte, Durham, and other cities of the state are already preparing to take advantage of the new law. An election on the city-manager plan has been ordered in Durham.

The municipal finance act will be of great importance in securing uniform and systematic financial administration in North Carolina cities. It makes detailed requirements with respect to the preparation

of an annual budget in every city of the state. It places important restrictions upon the borrowing power of cities, regulates the length and manner of bond issues for various city purposes, and the taxing power of cities, and establishes methods to be used in appropriating money.

WILLIAM H. GLASSON.

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Charter Revisions.—*Kansas* is now in line to contribute its share to the advance of the city-manager movement. A law enacted in February applies to cities of all classes, and though an independent act in form, is virtually a supplement of the several commission government laws. Under its terms the number of commissioners is the same as under the commission government law applying to the city, but the salaries of the commissioners are reduced. The city manager is given the usual powers of appointment, removal and supervision.

A peculiar feature of the law is that which gives the city manager the option of requiring the appointment of a civil service commission as established by the provisions of article XVII of chapter 18 of the general statutes of 1915. This would seem to be founded upon an unusual, though by no means indefensible, conception of the merit principle as an administrative aid to the executive rather than as a check against a possible abuse of the appointing power on his part.

The law may be adopted by popular election held upon petition of 25 per cent of the number of voters voting for mayor at the last preceding municipal election. Already the law has been adopted in Wichita and El Dorado (March 10). The action on the part of the former is particularly significant, inasmuch as the "regular" form of commission government has been in operation there.

The constitutionality of this law has been affirmed by the supreme court in the case of the *State v. Bentley*.

In *Indiana* a law permitting cities to adopt either the commission or city-manager form passed the lower house but did not get out of committee in the senate. Indiana is still without legislation per-

mitting cities to adopt any form of simplified government.

In *Kansas City*, on March 6, a charter, which provided the city-manager form of government with such modifications as are necessary under the Missouri constitution, was defeated by a vote of 16,181 to 16,119. Four sevenths of the total vote, or 18,457, would have been necessary to carry. The charter was fought by the saloon organization, which controls the congested district where transient laborers congregate, and also by the mayor and his organization, and by a minority of the members of the board of freeholders which drafted the charter. All but five of the wards gave the charter a comfortable majority. The mayor has promised to appoint a new charter board which will be under no obligations. The previous board which brought out the defeated charter was supposedly committed to the mayor's "Kansas City plan," but a majority of them broke away to advocate city-manager government.

Alameda, California, adopted an up-to-date commission manager charter on January 9. This is a residential suburb of San Francisco and Oakland and has a population of about 30,000. The members of the council under this new instrument (five in number) will be elected by a system of preferential voting. A notable feature of the charter is the absence of a detailed list of municipal powers. Section 4 of article 11, which covers the subject, reads as follows:

SEC. 4. Powers of the Council. Subject to the provisions and restrictions in this charter contained, and the valid delegation by this charter of any of the powers hereinafter included to any person, officer, board or committee, which delegation of power, if any, shall control, the council shall have power in the name of the city to do and perform all acts and things appropriate to a municipal corporation and the general welfare of its inhabitants and which are not specifically forbidden by the constitution of the state or which now or hereafter would be competent for this charter specifically to enumerate; and no enumeration or specific statement herein of any particular powers shall be held to be exclusive or a limitation of the foregoing general grant of power. The council shall have the power to delegate any of the powers conferred on or vested in it.

The city manager has the usual powers, except that the appointment of the board of library trustees and of the board of education lies with the mayor, while an auditor and a treasurer are popularly elected and the city attorney and the city clerk are chosen by the council. The city manager may be removed upon a four-fifths vote of the council. The president of the council is *ex-officio* mayor.

The city-manager law passed this year in *Montana* permits the adoption of the city-manager plan by any city by special election called upon petition of 50 per cent of the registered voters. In cities of less than 25,000 inhabitants, the number of commissioners provided for is three, and in all other cities, five. The powers of the commission and the city manager are the usual ones conferred upon such officers, subject to the operation of the initiative, referendum and recall.

The *Idaho* legislature this year also passed an optional commission-manager law available for cities having a population of 2,500 and over. The number of commissioners in any city having less than 15,000 would be five, in those of from 15,000 to 50,000, seven, and in large cities nine. The city manager would exercise the usual powers under such laws. Movements for the adoption of this act are under way in Coeur d'Alene and Pocatello.

The proposed charter for *Tiffin, Ohio*, was defeated on March 27 by a vote of 1,251 to 1,225.

Bryan, Texas, adopted an orthodox commission-manager charter on March 23 by a vote of 287 to 224.

H. S. GILBERTSON.

✱

Powers of First Class Cities in Washington.—The situation in the state of Washington with respect to the power of first-class cities to deal with their local utilities has not changed materially since the publication of the article on "Municipal vs. state control of public utilities," by Prof. J. Allen Smith, January, 1914.¹ Every session of the legislature has brought forth its crop of bills promoted by the public

¹See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. iii, p. 34.

utility interests and also proposals to place the powers of first-class cities upon a more secure foundation through the adoption of a suitable amendment to the constitution of Washington. Practically all of this proposed legislation in the interests of public utilities has been blocked either through the opposition of the cities before the legislature or through the intervention of the referendum. There has been, however, not the slightest degree of success for the efforts to amend the constitution in the interests of home rule. The legislature represents the rural interests of the state, the urban population being notoriously under-represented in that body, and this in spite of express and mandatory provisions in the constitution of Washington which require a re-apportionment strictly in accordance with population every five years. It may be of interest to mention that the legislature of 1914 passed a certificate of public necessity bill in response to the demands of the lobby maintained by the utility interests. The object which this had in view was to curb the tendency of cities to adopt a municipal ownership program. The legislature also submitted a constitutional amendment which was designed to restrict the right to vote in all cases involving the public credit or public property to tax-paying citizens of the state or the locality. The chief purpose of this was also to discourage municipal ownership by confining the right to vote on such propositions to those who it was thought would be the least friendly towards such a policy. Both of these propositions were overwhelmingly defeated in every county in the state. The certificate of public necessity bill was voted down by 201,742 votes to 46,820. The proposed amendment was also defeated by 180,179 to 88,963.

✱

Sacramento Sustains Commission Government.—Sacramento, Cal., has defeated by 740 (4,999 for 5,739 against) votes a new charter substituting for the present city commission a mayor and ward council plan. This represented the first organized attempt to abandon the com-

mission charter adopted in 1911. Soon after it went into effect its friends felt the need for providing some harmonizing agency between the five independent commissioners and their departments. Action looking toward such a modification was not taken, however, until early in 1916 when opponents of commission government organized a new charter club with a platform denouncing the present government and declaring for a return to the mayor and council plan voted out in 1911. A counter organization in the form of a business men's league was thereupon launched, in favor of reducing the commission from five to three members and creating a manager of accountancy with duties resembling those of a city manager. Rival tickets were named for the board of freeholders.

A commissionership election was held on the same day as the freeholder election and overshadowed the latter to the extent that over 40 per cent of those voting for commissioner failed to vote for freeholders. The board named consisted of nine members on the mayor and council ticket, four on the charter ticket and two on both tickets. The result was interpreted by the new charter club members as an order from the people to frame a mayor and council charter and accordingly they refused at the outset to listen to any alternative propositions.

The charter which was framed called for a mayor with broad executive powers, a council of eleven nominated by as many wards from among residents therein, to be elected at large, and a superintendent of operations in charge of technical and engineering work, after the plan prevailing in San Diego. An alternative section provided for election of councilmen by wards instead of at large. The article on franchises provided for the indeterminate franchise and also permitted a blanket franchise to be given any existing holder of several franchises and good for the term of the longest franchise then held.

Opposition to the new charter concentrated on the ward system and the franchise privileges. A movement started since the charter election to alter the pres-

ent commission charter has been postponed because of the impossibility of securing the approval of the state legislature before the 1919 session.

✱

County Government in Wisconsin.—A county commission bill introduced in the Wisconsin legislature has been indefinitely postponed, and those who are in touch with the situation think that the hope of getting any legislation of the kind through the present legislature is remote. One difficulty in that state is that most of the members of the legislature have been members of county boards. They are recruited from these rather than from city councils or from other public offices. Therefore in the judgment of close observers it will be a slow process to get the legislature very materially to modify the county board system.

✱

Proportional Representation.—On December 11, 1916, Calgary, Alberta, acting under authority granted by the recent act of the provincial legislature, adopted proportional representation for the election of its governing bodies. The campaign for the reform had been begun early in the fall by a committee under the leadership of W. D. Spence. The result was the ratification of the by-law by a vote of 2,840 to 1,374. On December 13 the by-law was formally passed by the council and signed by the mayor, as required by the act of the legislature, and it is therefore now in effect for all future city elections. The system adopted is the Hare system.

Though not directly bearing on city affairs, the report of the British conference on electoral reform is of great interest to all students of government. The conference, which was appointed in August, 1916, by the Asquith government, included leading members of all the parties. Its report, made public on January 27, recommended several radical changes in British electoral methods. One of the most important, on which the conference was unanimous, was that the members of the House of Commons from the larger cities and the universities should hereafter be elected by the Hare system. It is

expected, of course, that the unanimous recommendations of this conference will soon be enacted into law.

C. G. Hoag, general secretary of the proportional representation league, made a tour of the middle west in the interests of proportional representation in January, February, and March. His addresses were mostly before city clubs, chambers of commerce, and organizations interested in new city charters. Among the city clubs addressed were those of Cleveland, Chicago, St. Louis, and Cincinnati. He found the sentiment in favor of proportional representation much stronger than he expected. The reform is now more or less an issue in a number of cities, including Jamestown, N. Y., Cleveland and Hamilton, Ohio, Kalamazoo, Brainerd, Minn., Vermillion, S. D., St. Louis, and Lincoln, Neb.

In many places where the commission-manager plan is an issue, those who oppose the plan on the ground that it is not completely democratic readily accept it if it is to rest on the basis of a council elected by the proportional system. Thus in some places it appears to be actually easier to carry a manager plan charter with proportional representation than without it. An instance of this situation is furnished by Jamestown, N. Y. There the manager plan movement was at first actively opposed by Mayor Carlson, whose influence is indicated by the fact that he has been elected mayor five times. But when Mr. Hoag, in an address under the auspices of the Jamestown charter committee of one hundred, advocated proportional representation in connection with the manager plan, the combination was readily accepted by Mayor Carlson as well as by prominent advocates of the manager feature.

ALBERT B. MARIS¹.

✱

The Missouri State Public Service Commission has set aside special water rates to manufacturers fixed by the St. Louis board of aldermen. The rates are

¹ Assistant secretary, American Proportional Representation League.

not actually suspended, time being given to revise them.

The complaint was brought by the civic league of St. Louis on the ground that the rates were unjustly discriminatory, for they provided a charge for water for manufacturing purposes three times as low as for the same quantity for other purposes. The special rates were passed unanimously by the board of aldermen and supported by most of the newspapers, on the ground that it was a good thing for the city to encourage manufacturing by lowering water rates, even at the expense of the public.

As a result of the commission's decision the St. Louis board of aldermen and city officials from Kansas City and St. Joseph have determined to ask the legislature to amend the public service commission act, to take from that body entirely any power over the rates or service of municipally owned utilities.

*

St. Louis's Free Bridge.—After eleven years of controversy St. Louis opened her municipal "free bridge" to street traffic on January 20. The bridge was started in 1906 as a means of abolishing the trans-Mississippi tolls on passengers and freight. Every other bridge crossing the river at or near St. Louis is controlled by the Terminal Railway Association, composed of all the railroads entering St. Louis. Tolls are still charged.

The railroad deck of the bridge will not be finished for another year. Unforeseen engineering and financial difficulties delayed the completion of the bridge far beyond the period anticipated. It promises, however, to be the central point in an elaborate municipally-owned railway terminal system, which is being gradually developed through the acquisition by the city of tracts leased out to the railroads.

*

Milwaukee Division of Motor Vehicles.—The recent move of the city of Milwaukee in creating a central division of motor vehicles and municipal garage, is in line with the basic principle of all scientific management. It recognizes the func-

tional theory in organization and management.

The central division is a part of the bureau of bridges and public buildings and controls some forty of the city's sixty odd cars. Some of these cars are kept in the central garage; others at various outlying stations. Some cars are especially assigned while others are livery cars for the use of various departments.

The theory upon which the plan is based is broader than that of a mere garage since it is planned ultimately to include the supervision of all motor vehicles whether kept in the garage or not.

Some savings will be made through better use of cars, but the largest gains are anticipated through better operation and maintenance and the purchase of less expensive cars for inspection work.

*

Increased Salaries for Dayton's Employees.—In drafting the 1917 budget, Dayton allowed an increase of about \$25,000 over 1916 in salaries, while additions in number of employes bring the total increase to \$60,000. These increases are made in recognition of the increased cost of living; in accordance with the salary standardization of the civil service board; and because of greater responsibility of some officials and their better acquaintance with their work, due to three years' successful experience under the commission-manager form of government.

The rules of the civil service board provide for salary increases after six months if the employe fills the position satisfactorily. The amount of increase is \$60 per year, in most cases. The salaries of 132 policemen and 151 firemen were increased from \$960 to \$1,020 per year.

A number of salary increases were granted in the unclassified service, which includes the heads of departments and divisions and executive officers of boards appointed by and responsible to the city commission. Increases in salary from \$2,400 to \$3,000 were allowed the superintendent of streets, superintendent of water, and the city purchasing agent. Increases from \$2,400 to \$2,700 per year were given the clerk of the commission, secretary of

the civil service board, and secretary of the city manager; and an increase of \$2,700 to \$3,000 to the city engineer. Through promotion and reorganization of force, a number of employes will receive salary increases amounting to a few hundred dollars each.

Reports from other cities in Ohio, notably Toledo and Akron, indicate that those cities were forced to reduce both the salaries and the number of employes, while Dayton is able to proceed with its usual activities and still make merited salary increases. This condition is made possible almost entirely by the increased revenues arising from a business-like management of municipal undertakings. The anticipated revenues from the water works utility are \$21,000 greater, and from the garbage reduction plant \$50,000 greater than last year. The city will receive only \$45,000 more from taxes than was received last year, but its anticipated revenues from all other sources are \$107,000 greater.

C. E. RIGHTOR.

✱

Chicago's Department of Public Welfare and Morals Commission.—For several years Chicago has endeavored to maintain a department of public welfare, largely as a football in politics. Following the vice commission of which Dean (now Bishop) Sumner was chairman, a morals commission was authorized, but this, too, seems to have met obstacles which have interfered with its development. As a result the bureau and the commission are now "flat," to use a Chicago expression, because the finance committee of the council has failed to appropriate money for either. Editorials in leading papers concerning these two bodies maintain that they have accomplished nothing of real significance, and that in the case of the morals commission some of the ill-advised acts of the secretary have brought the commission into disrepute. The last thing the latter did was to write on the commission's letterheads an endorsement of a play then running in the city about which there was considerable doubt.

7

The department of public welfare has produced a study of public comfort stations which is said to be commendable, and a charities directory, as well as a loan shark number of its bulletin. This latter piece of work was actually done by a post-graduate student at the University of Chicago, although adopted by and published by the bureau.

At no time has the bureau had the support of the social workers of the city.

Concerning the morals commission, a correspondent says: "The commission at the request of the finance committee submitted a résumé of its work during the last year. It was a pathetic rehearsal of childish looking for something to do, of taking up one field after another and general problems which were illy defined and never completed. It is a notable fact that literally none of the social, religious or civic agencies of the city has said a word in defense of either department."

✱

An Anti-Bootleg Ordinance.—Experience in Denver, as well as in other municipal centers throughout the country where state-wide prohibition has been established, has shown that this reform imposes a very serious duty upon a large city. It is the city, with its wide opportunities for concealment of traffic, that appeals most strongly to the bootlegger. The police force, however well disciplined and alert, finds itself battling with almost insuperable obstacles under such circumstances.

Denver was inflicted with the usual calamities attendant upon bootlegging when the state went dry on January 1, 1916. The police court was crowded with law violators, who peddled injurious liquors, highly adulterated with wood alcohol. A conviction in police court meant an immediate appeal to the county court, and the bootlegger went on operating as before. By the time his case was decided in the higher court he had made several times the amount of the fine assessed. The district attorney filed informations in the criminal court, but found it almost impossible to secure a jury which would find the bootlegger guilty. Dockets of all

these courts became clogged and the bootleggers merrily proceeded.

It was when this situation had been reached that the municipal authorities decided to treat the matter from a health standpoint. An ordinance was drawn declaring the importation of poisonous and adulterated liquors into Denver to be dangerous to the life and reason of the inhabitants. The ordinance then provided that all liquor brought into the city should be inspected by a bureau of the health department before it could be used by the recipient. In order to work as little hardship upon those shipping liquor into the state for home use, under the provisions of the dry law, the city administration provided that transfer and express companies should furnish a list of all liquor shipments received. The ordinance did not interfere with interstate commerce.

Mayor Robert W. Speer recommended the adoption of the bill and it was speedily put into execution as an emergency measure. Complaints from the shipping companies were met with facts furnished by the county hospital and by reliable physicians, which proved conclusively

that bootleg whiskey had caused insanity, blindness and other physical ills.

At first there was some complaint, but it came entirely from those interested in some way in delivering the goods, or selling them. The public instantly recognized the necessity for the law and supported it. The carriers fell in line within a few days and even gave the city inspectors the right to place a man in their offices to examine the shipments. Transfer companies sent notices to outside shippers that they would receive no more contraband liquor and several of the distilleries sent notices to customers advising them that liquor would be sold to them in the future only when subject to inspection by the municipal authorities of Denver. After several months' test it appears that the ordinance is a success. A practical result has been that fees for inspection are paying for the cost of administration, thus making the liquor traffic justly pay its way. The cost of police administration had become approximately \$50,000 a year for bootleg suppression alone, when the ordinance was adopted.

W. H. SHARPLEY, M.D.¹

II. POLITICS²

The Recall in Lawrence, Kansas.—The present Mayor Francisco was chosen when commission government first went into operation. At the primary before the election he was the dark horse. His own friends did not believe he could be one of the candidates. But because of the splitting up of the electorals he was one of the two highest on the primary ballot. His opponent was a comparatively short-time resident, the old political crowd rallied to Francisco's support, and he was elected by a fair majority. He had the backing of many about town who had known him as the proprietor of a local livery business.

He drew the short term and came up for re-election after a year's service.

Again the field was free of candidates. The substantial voters supported three or four different candidates any one of which would have satisfied the voters better than Francisco. Together they polled a large proportion of the vote but as luck would have it the mayor was nominated along with a small bore lawyer whose chief financial interest is in a string of very poor residences in the east end rented to negroes. So works the non-partisan primary! A preferential ballot might have saved the day.

The voters were thus compelled to support the mayor against the other candidates and enough did to elect him. Many refrained from voting. During the campaign a strong movement for writing in another name appeared but fearing that this ruse would work to the advantage of the less desirable candidate many discouraged it.

¹ Manager of health and charity, Denver, Colo.

² Unless otherwise indicated, the items in this department are prepared by Clinton Rogers Woodruff.

The mayor was re-elected. Thereupon a combination with the commissioner of finance was formed and these two have been the government since. The commissioner of public utilities, more capable and probably more devoted to the city's interest, has been outvoted and systematically discredited. That he has a following in the town, however, is shown by the present movement to recall Mayor Francisco.

There is at this writing a petition on the table in the city hall, signed by one fourth of the qualified voters (over one thousand) asking for a recall upon the mayor and offering a retired confectioner as the opposing candidate. This petition cites incompetence and incapacity on the part of the mayor. His record in the police department is quite unsatisfactory. When it was presented the commissioner of utilities offered a motion to receive it and call an election. This was voted down. The mayor, upon advice of the city attorney, offered a motion to table it. This was passed 2 to 1.

The justification for such action is found in the conflicting recall provisions of the Kansas law. In 1913, the state adopted a constitutional amendment which provides that the signers of a recall petition must certify that they voted for the officer sought to be recalled. The earlier law of commission government had no such limitation, and it is under this law that this petition was filed. The city attorney and the mayor's attorney hold that the amendment repeals the law though there has been no court decision upon this point. The administration thus puts the burden of having the election called upon the signers of the petition and refuses to make any further move. Some of the petitioners seem inclined to take the question to the courts.

C. A. DYKSTRA.

✱

Seattle's Mayor in Trouble Again.—Mayor Hiram C. Gill of Seattle is in trouble again. This time he has been indicted along with his chief of police and a former sheriff for conspiracy to violate the interstate commerce and federal liquor

laws and for an acceptance of bribes in connection with that conspiracy. Concerning this interesting event, *The Independent* (New York) is responsible for the following statement:

Mayor Gill was recalled from office in 1910, ran again unsuccessfully in 1912, was elected again in 1914 by a majority as the candidate of the reform forces, and re-elected to a third term last March. During the past year Mayor Gill has enforced the prohibition law with severity and effectiveness. By his activity against the liquor traffic since his return to office he has earned the whole-hearted support of the "dry" interests and the equally hearty hostility of the "wets."

It is true he has been indicted by a federal grand jury, on the charge of accepting a bribe from a firm of druggists for protection in the illegal selling of liquor.

But when it is known that the complainants and chief witnesses against the mayor are the druggists in question, whose stores Mr. Gill had raided, the case looks not quite so clear against him. In the course of the raid casks and bottles containing over two thousand gallons of liquor had been smashed and the liquor thrown away. Both druggists on their own plea of guilty have been convicted of the illegal sale of liquor.

There the case stands. In common with all good citizens, we shall assume Mayor Gill to be innocent until he is proven guilty. . . . In fairness to Mayor Gill we should reiterate that he has the steadfast support of the prohibition forces in Seattle and the bitter hostility of those who are attempting to carry on the surreptitious and illegal sale of liquor.

A local authority makes the following statement with regard to him:

Mayor Gill's recent career has been stormy. In March, 1910, after he had been in city politics twelve years most of that time as councilman, Gill was elected mayor of Seattle. Almost immediately his administration was assailed for alleged toleration of vice, and in the spring of 1911 Gill was removed from office by the recall, with women voting for the first time. Subsequently Charles W. Wapenstein, his chief of police, was sentenced to the state penitentiary for accepting a bribe. Gill ran for mayor in 1912, asking vindication, and was defeated; but in 1914 he was elected mayor by a majority, running as a good government candidate, and being supported by many persons who were prominent in the movement that recalled him. Gill was re-elected mayor in March, 1916. When

the prohibition law was adopted Gill promised that it would be rigidly enforced, and raids upon bars at which liquor was sold in violation of law resulted in demolition of fittings valued at nearly \$100,000 and seizure and demolition of vast supplies of liquor. Gill has been a champion of the prohibition law, writing and speaking in its favor and receiving much commendation from prohibition leaders.



Proposed Charter for San Diego County.²—The principal objections urged against the San Diego county charter were: "First and foremost, that it was 'un-American' in that it disfranchised the voter and deprived him of his inherent and much beloved right to select his servants by ballot; that appointing officials and the use of the short ballot, while it might do for a principle in private matters, was inherently wrong when applied to the public business; second, the machine—that the provision for the governor's appointing the supervisors (there are five under the present law) would turn the business of the county over to the governor's personal representative, who would thereby at one stroke become the grand political boss, also that the manager appointed by a board thus composed would be little more than a political arranger, who with the aid of civil service would find his way paved with roses of gold, with few possible thorns of interference; that the board of welfare provisions tended to a dangerous centralization of power that would build up a medical trust, and that the civil service provisions were almost criminally bad and the three commissioners proposed were in the near political speeches dubbed 'the three wise men.'"

These reasons which are set forth by a careful observer of events in California would seem to indicate that even there the old political philosophy is pretty firmly entrenched, and that progress is by no means a thing of easy accomplishment.

The same correspondent expressed his opinion that the real reason for the defeat of the charter was the reduction in the pay

of the present supervisors who now receive in salary and fees \$3,000 a year. This would have been cut down to a \$400 maximum under the proposed charter. To be sure it relieved them at the same time of practically all the duties for which their present pay is presumably given. In the words of this observer, "Had the charter remained as drawn in every particular save one, and that one had been a change to a flat salary of \$3,500 a year for supervisors, it would in my belief have been adopted."



Municipal Progress in Leading Michigan Cities.—The voters of *Grand Rapids* having adopted a charter embodying some of the essential features of the city-manager form of government at the election of April 3, showed great discrimination in their choice of men to carry the plan into effect. "It is a better body of men," in the words of the *Grand Rapids Herald*, "than even the most optimistic proponent of government had dared hope for. All of the new commissioners are able executives. Each has been successful in his chosen field and each has enjoyed that experience which fits him for a place among the board of directors of such an enormous corporation as the city of Grand Rapids." It is interesting to note that the new council has under consideration among others the name of Henry M. Waite as its first city manager.

In *Kalamazoo* the issue was the election of a charter commission, and as a result of the educational campaign carried on by the new charter league, an unusually capable and experienced group of men was elected.

In *Detroit* the voters decided to separate municipal elections from state and national ones, and elected a progressive board of education as has been noted elsewhere.



Detroit School Board.—Last August at the regular primary election the electors of Detroit voted to substitute a seven-member board of education elected at large for the 21-member school board elected by wards. Women as well as men are eligible both as members and as

¹ Since this note was written Mayor Gill has been acquitted.

² See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. vi, p. 277.

voters. At the primary election on March 7, 64 candidates were offered on party tickets, seven to be nominated by each party. From the nominations thus made the voters elected a new board on April 2. With the help of the citizens' school board committee, whose organization was in a measure inspired by officers of the Detroit citizens' league, a fine field of capable candidates was secured. As a result of the election on April 2 the committee's recommendations were followed by the voters. In the words of W. P. Lovett, executive secretary of the Detroit citizens' league, "It was a unanimous victory for the forces of progress and shows what can be done by careful co-operation and persistence. Without question our new school board will enter its large task under very favorable auspices, and we will have a chance to try out the new plan with promise of success."

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Pastoriza Elected Mayor of Houston.—On February 23, J. J. Pastoriza was nominated at the Democratic primary for the office of mayor of Houston. This is equivalent to election. Pastoriza, who has been a commissioner for a number of terms, was opposed by the big daily papers and by the big interests, but his platform

of "Let the people rule" proved effective. Commissioner Pastoriza has been a conspicuous advocate of the single tax. The vote, which was a preferential one, was as follows: Pastoriza, 6,290; Robinson, 5,213; Vann, 4,277; Masterson, 1,971.

✱

Colorado Springs Election.—The voters of Colorado Springs defeated the proposition to go on a city-manager basis, by voting by a vote of 2,521 for the proposition to 3,588 against the proposition. This is properly regarded as a very interesting result of a campaign which lasted only three weeks. At the same time they voted to annex Colorado City, that community voting to the same effect. Charles L. McKesson, who for four years has been mayor of the city, was defeated by a partisan candidate, the mayor running on a non-partisan ticket.

✱

Woman's Suffrage in Ohio.—The supreme court of Ohio having sustained the provision of the new charter of East Cleveland giving women in that municipality the right to vote, other Ohio cities are planning to give the votes to women in municipal elections, Springfield being the first to take steps to avail itself of this privilege.

III. JUDICIAL DECISIONS¹

Rate Regulation.—In *Woodburn v. Public Service Commission*,² the supreme court of Oregon decided that the right to regulate telephone rates is a matter for the public service commission because it is of general concern. Notwithstanding the fact that Woodburn enjoyed home rule and had granted a franchise to the company, the court held that the constitution does not extend the power of municipalities over subjects not properly municipal and germane to the purposes for which municipal corporations are formed; that the possibilities of the exercise of the police power of the state is an implied term in the

contract, and, therefore, does not work an impairment of the obligation of the contract.

✱

Referendum—Sunday Baseball.—In *Levering v. Board of Supervisors*,³ the court of appeals of Maryland decided that the statute⁴ relating to referenda applies only to matters referred to the people by the legislature, such as local option, and not to a city ordinance permitting amateur athletic games on Sunday afternoon. There is no authority in the city charter to refer such questions to the people.

✱

Adverse Possession.—The general rule is that title by adverse possession cannot

¹Unless otherwise indicated, the decisions are those of the court of last resort in the state mentioned.

²161 Pacific 391.

³99 Atlantic 360.

⁴Code Pub. Civ. Laws, article 33, §54, 55, 57.

be acquired against a municipal corporation while it is acting in its governmental capacity. The authorities, however, are divided on this point. But where a city is acting in its corporate or proprietary capacity a person holding a piece of property by adverse possession can acquire an indefeasible title. In *Robinson v. Lemp*,¹ Boise City was estopped from asserting any title or claim to certain land not used for governmental purposes.²



Public Garage and Zoning.—In *Dangel v. Williams*,³ the court of chancery of Delaware held invalid an ordinance prohibiting the erection of public garages in the residential section of Wilmington without the consent of the adjoining owners as an unreasonable, unwarranted and not uniform delegation of the power to make building regulations. The police power granted by the city charter must be exercised by the legislative branch and cannot be delegated to an individual. This is in line with a rather narrow construction by the Delaware courts of the meaning of delegation of legislative power.



Exemption from Liability for Park Accidents.—In *Cornelisen v. Atlanta*,⁴ the court of appeals of Georgia, sustaining the decision of the supreme court⁵ held that where a city maintains a park primarily for the use of the public, intended as a place of resort for pleasure and the promotion of the health of the public at large, its operation is in virtue of the governmental powers of the municipality and no municipal liability would attach to the non-performance or improper performance of the duties of the officers, agents, or servants of the city in respect to keeping the park safe for use by members of the general public. It would not affect the public character of the duties of the officers, agents or servants of the city that a purely incidental profit might result to the city from its operation or management of the

park. But if the city, having charter authority, maintained the park primarily as a source of revenue, the duty of maintaining it in a safe condition for the use for which it is intended would be ministerial, and municipal liability would attach for breach of such duty.



Streets as Playgrounds.—Two boys were killed by the caving in of a sewer trench which a village was constructing through the centre of its principal street. The trench was open and uncurbed; the soil was sandy and liable to cave. The boys were playing on the street, although a playground was close by. The contractor knew that the boys played around the trench and warned them away whenever he saw them. Nobody saw them at the time of the accident. In *Barrett v. Village of Princeton*,⁶ and in *Jesmer v. Same*, the supreme court of Minnesota held that the boys were not trespassers and that the village would have been liable had there been evidence of negligence. There are two lines of cases on this point and this decision joins those holding that even if streets are used for play, the children are owed a duty of care.⁷



Punishment by State and City for Same Offense.—In *Shreveport v. Nejin*,⁸ it was decided that the city council had the right to declare a "blind tiger" a public nuisance and to order it abated with penalty. The defendant was convicted under an ordinance which was upheld⁹ and was declared to have been repealed¹⁰ by a state law upon the same subject, only in so far as the two were inconsistent. The chief justice in a long opinion dissented, saying that since the city is only an agent for the state the question of double punishment by the same sovereignty is raised. He pointed out that punishment by the United States and by a state of the same person for offenses against both is quite different.¹¹

¹160 N. W. 190.

²Columbia Law Review (March, 1917) 252.

³73 Southern 313.

⁴134 Louisiana 490.

⁵136 Louisiana 770.

⁶Virginia Law Review (March, 1917) 488.

¹161 Pacific 1024.

²Virginia Law Review (March, 1917) 492.

³99 Atlantic 84.

⁴91 S. E. 510.

⁵91 S. E. 415.

Municipal Regulation of Street Car Fares.—In *Willis v. Rochester*,¹ the New York laws of 1915² amending the charter of Rochester³ and providing for regulation of fares on street cars was held not to be unconstitutional as taking property without compensation. The court said: "As the rate of fare is a matter of municipal and public interest, it would not be so very extraordinary to find in a city charter some regulation of the terms and conditions upon which street railroads should operate, which might include the fixing of rates of fare." The amendment in question was annexing the village of Charlotte and taking over three miles of the right of way of the trolley company. Subdivision 2 of the act of 1915 provided for a 5 cent fare for a continuous ride to any part of the city, including the annexed portion.

In view of a recent decision of the United States supreme court, this New York case, if taken up on appeal, may go the other way. In the cases of the *Detroit United Railway v. Michigan* and the same against Detroit, decided on December 11, 1916,⁴ Mr. Justice Pitney said: "We still think that the acquisition of the city lines by the plaintiff in error, and its subsequent acquisition of the suburban lines, did not bind it to put the reduced fare provisions in effect upon the suburban lines if and when the city limits should thereafter be extended to include any parts of the latter."

Because of section 10 of article 1 of the constitution of the United States, the court said that it was not within the power of the state, by subsequent legislation, to impair a contract, and since the judgment of the state supreme court⁵ gave that effect to the annexation acts of 1905 and 1907, and to the ordinance of 1889, so as to impair the obligation of a contract, the judgment of the Michigan court against the street railway was reversed. Mr. Justice Clarke and Mr. Justice Brandeis dissented. The former said: "The pass-

ing of the valid extension act merely created a situation under which the implied condition existing in the fare contract from beginning, finds an application to the new territory." He held that no federal question was before the court, since the contract clause protects against decisions of courts only when such decisions give effect to a constitution adopted or law passed subsequent to the date of the contract. The decision of the supreme court of Michigan in his opinion gave effect not to the terms of the extension act but to the contract between the city and the street car company, and the most that can be said is that the court gave an erroneous interpretation of the contract.

✱

Public Use.—In *State v. Omaha & C. B. St. Ry. Co.*,⁶ the trolley company was obliged to move its wires so that a house could be moved along the street. Under a general ordinance requiring temporary removal of poles and wires, moving a building was held to be a public use of the street. The company had to pay the expenses of removing the poles and wires.

✱

State Control of Municipal Water Supply.—The city of Helena, in *Public Service Commission v. Helena*,⁷ declined to submit to the supervision of the public service commission over its water system and the lower court sustained the city. It seems that the city under article 13, section 6, of the Montana constitution empowering the legislature to authorize an extended indebtedness for public water supply, providing the city owns and controls the works, had invested in a water system and was claiming exemption from control and regulation of the public service commission, created by the laws of 1913, chapter 52. The court held that the city was acting in a proprietary not in a governmental capacity, and was therefore exempt from the control and regulation of the state commission.

¹ 114 N. E. 851.

² Chapter 359.

³ Laws of 1907, chapter 755.

⁴ Number 1 and number 4 of the October term.

⁵ 173 Michigan 314.

⁶ 161 N. W. 170.

⁷ 159 Pacific 24.

State and Municipal Officer.—In *State v. Jost*,¹ a police detective who was appointed for three years under the safeguards thrown about his position by state law and was paid by the city, but who could exercise authority in any part of the

state, was held to be both a municipal and state officer within the meaning of the constitutional provision² forbidding increase of compensation for such an officer during his term.

ROBERT EMMET TRACY.

IV. MISCELLANEOUS

The Civic Advisory Committee of the Mayor of Milwaukee.—"Milwaukee is the first American city successfully to work out a method by which its city government and its citizens who are interested in municipal affairs are brought directly in contact." This quotation (from Mayor Hoan's statement to the press at the close of 1916) refers to the mayor's advisory committee which was organized primarily to advise with him upon questions touching the majority of people in Milwaukee. He had previously stated that he felt the need of getting in touch with all classes if he was to represent the whole city, and that if he could secure an organization through which the facts could get to the people, it would have a wholesome effect upon the opposition in the common council.

Milwaukee has an uncommonly large number of civic organizations to furnish a nucleus for a civic cabinet. The mayor invited such of these as were interested primarily in better city government to select representatives upon an advisory committee. Over thirty organizations sent their representatives to the first meeting, nearly all sending their presidents. In this call, it was stated that such a committee would be requested to investigate various subjects which might engage the public attention or call for governmental action.

The mayor has uniformly followed the committee's advice, and the common council in most cases has confirmed the action of the committee. The interest shown by the members of the committee is evidenced by the fact that the attendance at the regular monthly meetings has averaged 80 per cent of the total membership.

¹ 191 S. W. 38.

² Article 14, section 81.

Some of the recommendations made are:

That the mayor request the public land commission to make a complete city plan and to take steps to employ a paid secretary.

The council has since created this position and a permanent secretary is now employed.

That the mayor request the public land commission and the city attorney to advise as to what legislation is necessary to assist the commission in carrying on its work, in order that the committee could take the necessary steps to have such legislation enacted.

Legislation is now pending before the legislature which will materially assist the commission in its work.

That the mayor veto the \$75,000 bond issue for the McKinley bathing beach.

This issue was vetoed and the veto subsequently sustained.

That the mayor use his good office to have a member of the city planning commission serve on the lake shore commission.

That the mayor together with a committee of seven from the advisory committee request the park board to adhere to the general plan of city lighting already adopted by the city, in the matter of the lighting of the city parks.

The park board has tacitly agreed to this recommendation.

That the mayor veto the ordinance changing the election laws so as to provide extra registration days.

This was done and the veto sustained.

That the committee oppose the ordinance taking from the mayor any more power with regard to appointments and that the council sustain the veto on the ordinance.

The council failed to pass this resolution over the mayor's veto.

In addition to the executive board, special committees are appointed to investigate those matters which are of

sufficient moment in the eyes of the committee as to warrant special investigation. Among such questions considered are, city planning, city beautifying, legislation, park lighting, river and harbor improvements, street paving, traffic regulations and salary revision.

The work of the committee has conclusively shown that it can be developed into a beneficial and helpful organization. The great majority of citizens who are actively interested in civic affairs have been brought into close touch with the city government through the representatives of the civic societies. There is no one thing which will tend to bring about charter reform quicker than the organizing of this committee, for the unwieldy workings of the present city government are now clearly exposed to those who are most anxious for the improvement of municipal government.

JOHN F. PUTNAM.¹

✱

Housing for Wage-Earners.—Our belated recognition of the fact that the immigrant ignored does not become thoroughly Americanized as rapidly as we could wish, has led to a recognition of the further fact that the kind of dwelling we often provide for him and his family tends to retard rather than hasten the process we believe so desirable. So the National Americanization Committee has held a housing competition designed to secure from architects and builders in all parts of the country plans and specifications that would prove the practicability of better dwellings. The committee assumed as the place where the dwellings were to be erected an industrial community of 35,000 population. It further assumed that the density of population was not to exceed 65 persons per net acre and that the site would be level. Three types of dwellings were called for: First, a single family house; the second type was a single family house similar to the first except that two more bed-rooms and a bath-room were to be provided for lodgers, two to each bed-room. The lodgers and

¹Director, Milwaukee citizens' bureau of municipal efficiency.

the family were each to have their own entrance from out-of-doors; the third type was the large boarding house for thirty lodgers, two in a room. The family and servants' part of the building was again to be separated from that of the lodgers with no means of communication except through the dining-room. In all cases there was to be provided 50 square feet of floor area per person in each bed-room and a window area not less than one eighth of the floor area.

Three hundred and sixty-nine designs were submitted in the competition and first and second prizes of \$300 and \$100 were awarded for each type of dwelling. The jury in making these awards was guided by considerations of sanitation; convenience and comfort; privacy; economy of construction and maintenance; esthetic values.

The interest excited by the competition has been even more widespread than was anticipated, and, as many of the designs contain suggestions valuable not only in the comparatively restricted field of immigrants' housing, but also in the wider one of wage-earners' housing generally. *The Architectural Review* is devoting two numbers to them, republishing not alone the prize winners, but many of the others, together with critical and explanatory articles.

JOHN IHLDER.²

✱

Fights on the Social Evil in San Francisco, Louisville and New Orleans.—An active campaign under the leadership of Rev. Paul Smith has been carried on in *San Francisco* for several months in co-operation with the law enforcement league of California, which is affiliated with the American Social Hygiene Association, Inc. Bishop Sumner of Oregon, who was chairman of the original Chicago vice commission, has also been co-operating. Mayor Rolph has appointed a vice commission of 25 members to investigate, study and make recommendations upon vice conditions in San Francisco. He has also appointed a committee of five at the request of the police commissioner to find

²Secretary, Philadelphia housing association.

employment for prostitutes thrown upon the streets by reason of the district attorney's order closing all houses of prostitution in the city.

In *Louisville* the mayor has followed the recommendations of the vice commission and is fighting commercialized vice, with the result that the number of registered houses and inmates has been steadily decreasing.

In *New Orleans* evidence has been produced that segregation really does not segregate, a newspaper reporter finding numerous houses of ill fame located outside of the district. A committee of 28 members named by the officers' league of Louisiana has been appointed as a nucleus for a committee of one hundred to secure law enforcement in the city. One result of the agitation has been that the commissioner of public safety has enforced existing statutes more vigorously than for many years.

✱

Dallas's Second Annual Exhibit.—The motto of the second annual municipal exhibit of Dallas was "the dollar that you spend in taxes buys more for you in Dallas than any other dollar you spend." The exhibit was built up around this idea and awakened thousands of citizens to a realization of what the administration of the city's affairs mean to them. In the words of Elmer E. Scott, director of the department of public welfare:

It is a fact that a large number of unthinking citizens pay their taxes under bitter protest, more or less expressed. This protest is the outgrowth of old municipal mismanagement. They are not aware that a new spirit of efficiency is growing in some American cities, that their tax money is not simply paying the salaries of expensive "chair warmers," but that the wise expenditure of the taxpayer's money is what throws the protecting mantle over the life, health, property and morals of the whole community, and which provides for the community most of its education, recreation, and adds immeasurably to convenience and comfort.

In this way, then, the municipal exhibit in Dallas has been of extraordinary value, and the interest of our people is aroused in the method of expenditure for their benefit, and this interest will gradually take the place of ignorant criticism.

It is difficult to give much of an outline descriptive of an exhibit. The exhibit itself really is presumed to be a very large volume of detailed information presented in tabloid form, and being already so condensed, a further condensation can only be brought about by eliminating a large percentage of what is most interesting and valuable.

✱

Dayton Propaganda.—Commissioner Switzer of Dayton has been continuing his admirable propaganda work for the Dayton plan.¹ Since the Springfield meeting of the National Municipal League he has spoken in the following cities with a large degree of acceptance: Pittsfield, Mass.; Fitchburg, Mass.; Glens Falls, N. Y.; Xenia, Ohio; Louisville, Ky.; Richmond, Ind.; Bluffton, Ohio.; Springfield, Ill.; Athens, Ohio; Troy, Ohio; Evansville, Ind.; Louisville, Ky.; Clarksburg, W. Va.; Miamisburg, Ohio; Wooster, Ohio; Schenectady, N. Y.; Harrisburg, Pa.

✱

Mostly "Pork!"—Under this striking head, Charles Harris Whitaker, editor of the *Journal of the American Institute of Architects*, has presented in that *Journal* the result of a careful survey of the system of appropriating money for public buildings by the United States congress in what is known as the "Omnibus Public Buildings Bill." The showing is astonishing, amusing, serious, disagreeable, and a painful comment on local selfishness and representative incapacity. Appropriations are made for public buildings in this fashion without intelligent regard of the need for such buildings, or of the propriety of the locations for the buildings which are needed. These appropriations total more than thirty-three million dollars, and are partisan in character to the extent that there is a distribution of "pork" on the basis of one-third to the Republican side of congress, and two-thirds to the Democratic side.

This carefully made survey, which includes statements of the population of the communities involved over three census periods, and the post office receipts as last reported, has been worked up by Mr. Whitaker in the hope of starting action

¹See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. v, p. 679.

toward the institution of "A wise public-building policy, framed after an expert investigation and study of all the factors by a commission of trained men." It is probable that should such action be taken, there would be saved to the government annually a larger sum than is now provided by the disagreeable and unpopular income tax; and at the same time, public buildings would not only be better in character and suitability, but would be placed where they are needed.

J. HORACE MCFARLAND.



Reclamation of St. Louis River Front.—Definite steps to utilize the Mississippi river, after decades of neglect, have just been taken by St. Louis in constructing permanent modern docks on the river front. The move follows the turning over to the city of practically the entire river front and a double line of railroad tracks, through the expiration of railroad franchises in December, 1915. The new docks provide an entirely new system of loading and unloading freight by means of cranes, and are the first step away from the age-old system of carting freight up and down the levees. A new steel barge line for handling freight in the new way will be on the river by spring, and the shippers of St. Louis have agreed to ship a sufficient tonnage to make the new plan a success. St. Louis is co-operating with other cities up and down the river in getting the new system into operation.

In connection with the municipal bridge across the Mississippi, which will be opened within a few months, it is expected that the municipal ownership of these means of transportation will not only break the hold which the railroads have had on St. Louis transportation, but will also inaugurate a new and far-sighted policy in the development of the whole industrial district.



Unnecessary Noises in Pittsburgh.—The civic club of Allegheny county in the course of its anti-noise campaign has received complaints regarding the following nerve-racking sounds:

Open muffler cut-outs, noisy motor cycles, stationary gas engine exhausts, over-use of auto horns, long continued ringing of bells, flat wheels on street cars, slamming of doors in street cars, early morning noises of milkmen, rattling of garbage cans, newsboys (especially Sunday mornings), beating of carpets, roller skates and "skidmobiles," auto engines running while car is at rest, whistles (locomotive and factory), defective or loose street car gear, noise in hospital zones, chickens in residence sections, barking and howling of dogs at night, rattling of heavy wagons over stone pavements.

In a circular it declares that "many of the above noises can be entirely eliminated and the rest can be much reduced, to the injury of no one and the gain of all in health, comfort and efficiency," and then asks the question, "How much noise can you stop?"



The Feasibility of a Municipal University in Dayton.—The Dayton bureau of municipal research has prepared an elaborate report on the feasibility of establishing a municipal university in Dayton. After a careful study of existing universities and of their operation and of the local conditions, the school committee of the board of trustees of the bureau to whom the results of the investigation were submitted expressed the opinion that "as a charge upon the community a municipal university is not at this time considered desirable, but that with sufficient endowment the matter would be open for discussion from a new angle, as that then many of the present objections which were enumerated in detail would be eliminated."¹



Local Option in Massachusetts.—At the December, 1916, elections the follow-

¹For a discussion of the subject of municipal universities see article entitled "Municipal universities of the United States," by John L. Patterson, vol. v, p. 553.

Feeling that certain statements in the report of the Dayton bureau were somewhat misleading, the Municipal University of Akron has issued a bulletin giving a report covering the period of the existence of the university, from which may be drawn "conclusions as to the success of that institution."

ing Massachusetts towns voted "yes" on the subject of the sale of intoxicating liquors: Boston, Chelsea, Chicopee, Gloucester, Holyoke, Lawrence, Lowell, Marlborough, New Bedford, Northampton, Pittsfield, Springfield, Worcester. The following cities voted "no": Attleboro, Beverly, Brockton, Cambridge, Everett, Fall River, Fitchburg, Haverhill, Lynn, Malden, Medford, Melrose, Newburyport, Newton, North Adams, Peabody, Quincy, Revere, Somerville, Taunton, Salem, Waltham, Woburn, Leominster.

✱

Information Desired for Chinese City.—Mr. S. T'ang, a graduate of the University of Michigan and now president of the Commercial School of Changsha, is desirous of establishing a civic welfare club or league in that community for the purpose of furnishing information to the citizens of the town, and to assist them in forming plans for improving its conditions. Mr. T'ang states that he understands there are a number of civic leagues in cities in the United States who might have plans or pictures or literature which they would be willing to send to the municipality. He wants information as to how he could form connections with such leagues for the purpose of correspondence, so we commend his request to the public-spirited readers of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW.

✱

George W. Guthrie, American ambassador to Japan, died suddenly of apoplexy at the American embassy in Tokyo on Wednesday, March 7. Mr. Guthrie, who was at one time mayor of Pittsburgh and always an active civic force in that city, was closely identified with the National Municipal League from 1896, when he spoke at the Baltimore conference, until his departure for his diplomatic post. He was a member of the council and later

vice-president from 1907 to 1910. Mr. Guthrie was a strong factor for decent government in Pittsburgh as well as a constructive force in state movements for constitutional and electoral reform. He was a member of the first National Municipal League committee on municipal program and contributed largely to the conclusions which it reached.

✱

F. S. Spence, for many years an active and impressive figure at the meetings of the National Municipal League, and a member of its council since 1912, died March 7, at his home in Toronto, from an attack of pleuro-pneumonia. Mr. Spence was one of the conspicuous figures in the helpful and stimulating municipal life of Toronto and Ontario and had achieved for himself a reputation as a keen, incisive student and debater of the various problems which those progressive cities have been solving during the past generation. Beginning in 1894 and continuing until 1917, Mr. Spence was a candidate at practically every municipal election, mostly successfully, but sometimes unsuccessfully. He served alternately as alderman and controller. He was twice defeated for mayor. Moreover, he was an active leader of the temperance forces not only in the province of Ontario but in the Dominion of Canada, serving for many years as secretary of the Dominion alliance for the suppression of the alcohol traffic. For several years he was a member of the port commission of Toronto, in which office he contributed largely to the development of the port facilities of the city.

As one of the Toronto papers said in commenting on his death, "Mr. Spence had made a name in civic history and had won his success on sheer merit." He will be missed from the meetings of the National Municipal League, where he always took an interesting and stimulating part in its discussions.

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

I. BOOK REVIEWS

STATE GOVERNMENT IN THE UNITED STATES.

By Arthur N. Holcombe, Assistant Professor of Government, Harvard University. New York: The Macmillan Company. Pp. 498. \$2.25.

Here is a timely and important catalog of information on a neglected subject coming happily just when eight state constitutional conventions are in sight and when the National Municipal League enters the field of state governmental problems. Members of those constitutional conventions who want a view of the development of state government throughout the country since the formation of the Union and a comparison point by point of its various features in the different states will find in this readable volume a handbook and a starting point for their studies as simple and helpful in its way as Bryce's *American Commonwealth*. They will not find much guidance toward new aspirations nor indeed much discontent with existing systems. The author deals little with remedies nor, for that matter, does he trace causes. The book is evidently not designed to convert anybody to anything. The author says:

The greatest promise for the future lies, not in further changes in the form of government, but in the further redivision of powers.

This absence of uneasiness, this lack of philosophy makes Mr. Holcombe all the more acceptable as a faithful reporter of the facts and will give any reader a comfortable confidence in his impartiality.

The historical sections seem particularly well-informed but the part entitled "The working of the state governments" is less interesting and instructive than the phrase would lead one to expect, consisting of a cataloging of the various items of machinery, the kind of information that could be compiled from official sources and general knowledge rather than from

the incisive comments that James Bryce knew so well how to extract from the confidences of slangy and cynical political veterans in the easy-chairs of a legislative lobby. There is little about railroads, for example, or how they have controlled state governments, nor about the quarrels between divisions of states, city against country, etc. Indeed there is scant consideration of all the various extra-legal phases of government and of popular organization and the methods whereby public opinion works. Another important omission is county government although it is surely a branch of the state without which state government would be very different in both its legal and practical aspects.

In the author's analyses of current problems there is always the spirit of the historian rather than the seer. He tells what people have said about this or that but indulges in very little pioneer thinking of his own. In short, Mr. Holcombe has not undertaken to contribute opinion or argument but to collect and arrange the existing material on a neglected but coming subject and this task he has performed with scholarly ability.

RICHARD S. CHILDS.

New York City.



GOVERNMENT TELEPHONES. The Experience of Manitoba, Canada. By James Mavor, University of Toronto. New York: Moffat, Yard and Company. Pp. 176. \$1 net.

Professor Mavor's little book covering the experiences of Manitoba with government telephones is a most drastic arraignment of government ownership. After a reading of this book no one can have a doubt that this Canadian experiment up to the present time has been a miserable failure. The successful operation of tele-

phones in Manitoba by the Bell Company gave way in 1908 to the disgraceful conduct of this utility by the government. There seems to be no bright spot in the whole history for it does not appear that the government has even universalized the service in any way that the Bell Company was not preparing to do.

The counts in this indictment may be rapidly summarized as follows:

1. The acquisition of the telephone was brought about solely for party advantage. The promises made by the government in its campaign for acquisition were not made in good faith, and from the very beginning of government operation the telephone was used for political purposes.

2. The technical management of the system was subordinated to political management, rates were politically fixed, and were discriminatory and unfair.

3. The financial policy was unsound from the beginning, there was no attempt made to provide a decent accounting or auditing system, and the equipment was allowed to run down although the government reported it a great financial success. Eight years of operation have left a real deficit of \$1,000,000 against the system.

Upon the basis of this study the author's conclusion seems to *him* irresistible,—
 "The entire history of the government telephone enterprise in Manitoba affords evidence of the most positive character against government ownership" (p. 63).
 "It is possible that only by repeated and costly failures such as the Manitoba government telephones, will the public realize that the proper function of government is not the conduct of industries but the impartial inspection of them under intelligent laws adapted to the character and conditions of the community and the country."

To the reviewer this argument is not at all conclusive. It is obvious that the political management of a utility must be a failure anywhere even under private ownership. Financial juggling can ruin any enterprise whether the pirates be politicians or private promoters. Just how the same government in Manitoba could have impartially regulated or "impartially inspected" the telephone system

does not appear. The author himself suggests on page 36 that the telephone commission appointed by the government were men of many years' experience in the service of the Bell Company "and were unquestionably well qualified for the task of managing a telephone system under normal conditions." Had the author concluded that Manitoba, under present political conditions, could not operate a successful telephone system there would be no dissent. We in the United States were convinced not long ago that the management of the New Haven was a severe arraignment of that particular private management. We were just as convinced of municipal gas failure in Philadelphia. But we can draw no such sweeping conclusion upon such a basis of fact.

In this connection it may be of value to set down Professor Holcombe's final conclusion upon government telephones in Europe. "We find that on the basis of the experience of continental European governments in the conduct of the telephone business, no general statement can be made concerning the efficiency of state agency in the conduct of business undertakings. . . . In some countries public enterprise has bungled miserably in the telephone business, and in others it has not bungled at all." His conclusion upon the Swiss experiment may well be kept in mind by the reader of Professor Mavor's book, "The Swiss secured a wider and more prompt utilization of the telephone than occurred anywhere else on earth, led the way in the substitution of measured for unlimited service, and have ever operated a technically sound system at rock bottom rates."

C. A. DYKSTRA.

University of Kansas.

✱

ETHICS OF DEMOCRACY. A Series of Optimistic Essays on the Natural Laws of Human Society. By Louis F. Post. Third edition. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co. 1916. \$1.50.

From the "Democratic optimist" in Part I to the "The great order of things"

in the conclusion this volume makes a rapid survey of facts, tendencies and ethical attitudes in the present economic and social life of the United States. The "Democratic optimist" of the beginning is doubtless the author, and the "Great order of things" to which he leads us is the régime of single tax. Many persons will value the book because of the doctrine, and many others, in spite of it; most thinking persons will appreciate the volume on account of its freshness, vigor, and pervasive idealism.

The preface at once arouses the attention, for in it the author links the dogma of "a favorable balance of trade" with the commercial exploitation of foreign lands. The dogma and the commercial tendency are unfavorably viewed from the democratic point of view. The first three parts of the book are given over to a criticism of certain contemporary moral standards and attitudes. If we are to be optimistic, we can be so only by facing the facts, and by joining with the forces that make for social reconstruction. We must, says the author, quoting Isaiah, "Cease to do evil; learn to do well." Appeal is made to college graduates to reflect critically upon the common notions of success and respectability. One is here reminded, by contrast, of the advertisements of high class commercial schools in the current magazines, which capture the eye by such words as, "Are you a \$50,000 man?" That "Honesty is the best policy" is accepted by the author as a good dictum, but what is honesty? Sacrifice is estimated to be good, but what about justice? Success is to be desired, but, asks the author, what about monopoly, privilege, and the conditions of success from which many good men shrink? There is an obligation to serve, but there is also an obligation, grossly violated under the present social order, of rendering service for service. The net outcome of our base social and economic standards is to be seen in great fortunes which come to those only who play the game under the accepted rules. The dogma of the piety of industriousness is evoked by the successful as the moral sanction to the absorbing pursuit of mod-

ern business, whose spirit flowers in "literature" as "The message to Garcia!" The philosophy in question is very old, for did not the ancient Hebrew historians use to write that King Somebody or Other did well in the sight of the Lord, and he prospered? Then, a great poet raised the question regarding the failure of a good man; and since that day there has been put into this easy linking of piety with success a kink.

The author is occasionally a bit safer in his morals than in his science; for he clings tenaciously to the rejected doctrine of natural rights, and brands all who reject the notion of natural rights as atheists. Scientific men have not discarded the eighteenth century vogue of natural rights because they do not believe in God. Their opposition is rather based upon the observation that no such things can be found. What is natural are instincts. Rights emerge, when they do appear, out of the terrific struggle between the bestial and the social in man, and are, like justice, an artificial product of civilization. The notion that rights are natural, and that God made the world in seven days belong to the same stage of human thinking.

In the next two parts of the volume one is carried into the intricacies of economic discussion. Part IV finds the author clashing with the Socialists over the cure for the trusts. Trusts are natural say the Socialists; they are not, says the single taxer. Let the public own the trusts, say the Socialists; let it "bust" them by taxing the unearned increment out of their landed properties, says the single taxer. Thus only can freedom and normality be restored to business life.

In Part V sails are full-rigged, and we are on a voyage of "Economic exploration and survey." Political economy is well defined as a "science of tendencies," but the theorizing is somewhat loosely knit. Under free competition service would tend to exchange for service, and there is a suggestion of a labor theory of value. But elsewhere we are reminded that cost of production determines the value of products (page 148). And still

again we are told that value "is an expression of exertion avoided," or that it is an equilibrium between the serviceability of productive power, and the irksomeness of producing (pages 234, 235). However, in these days it is no particular distinction in an author to be confused, or at least not clear, as to his theory of value.

In the "Economic exploration" we further see that wealth is an artificial product of land and labor; that serviceability is the economic characteristic of wealth, and that value is serviceability in scarcity. One may be pardoned for liking better Ruskin's definition of value as, "The possession of the valuable by the valiant." Trade is the exchangeable value of things arising through the division of labor, and money is the mere token that fools us all as being something. According to this classification, capital is tucked off into one corner as unfinished or mediate wealth, what the economists would call capital goods. The finished products, consumers' goods according to the economists, before they reach the consumers, are excluded from the category of capital. The latter is also not one of the basic factors of production. If labor could create things out of nothing, or if land were all equally valuable, all of wealth would go to labor as wages. But land is scarce, and there exist in it differential values; there is also monopoly in land. Hence, there exists rent. Normally rent would not press upon wages, though just why it would not, even without monopoly, is not explained. But the "water" in rent does press upon wages, forcing them ever downward with the growth of communities. Our social duty is plain: tax land values for the benefit of the community, and free business from all other forms of taxation. Industry would thus be stimulated and land set free for use instead of for holding. Such is the single tax ideal. Of special interest in this section is the chapter on "Our foreign trade" in which it is shown that the greater part of the balance due us from our excessive exports goes to pay

interest on government, municipal, and state bonds owned by foreigners.

The remaining parts of the book upon democratic government and patriotism are devoted to a discussion of current problems such as universal suffrage, trial by jury, and imperialism, and to a much needed definition of patriotism in terms of real spiritual, national aspiration.

We have in the volume not only the ethics, but also the fervor, and even the religion of democracy. When such a book can circulate in three editions the heart of our people is sound.

ARTHUR EVANS WOOD.

Philadelphia.

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HOUSING PROBLEMS IN AMERICA. Proceedings of the Fifth National Conference on Housing. New York: National Housing Association. 1916. 542 pp. and index. \$2.

Though this rather bulky volume suffers from lack of careful editing, it contains so much value to the student of housing that he can not afford to pass it by. The committee in charge of the program secured a group of speakers who supplemented admirably those who appeared at preceding conferences, so these proceedings help to round out our knowledge of what is being done and proposed in American housing.

While some of the papers dealing with construction and management, with a sub-head of industrial housing, are distinctly disappointing, most of them are equally distinctly real contributions. The discussions that follow add notably to their value. Men who are working on the construction of low cost houses, others, like Grosvenor Atterbury, who have made promising experiments that lead us to hope for material reduction in costs, managers of wage-earners' dwellings in large cities and in industrial towns—who give to the pudding the proof of eating, here exchange facts and opinions. The result is a symposium of practical value to the housing worker nowhere else available.

A group of papers dealing with types of dwellings, with sub-heads on districting—to which Lawson Purdy, as usual, makes

a valuable contribution, and on the multiple dwelling vs. the single family house—in which Bernard Newman and others vigorously attack the multiple dwelling and meet but a half hearted resistance.

To another group dealing with housing and health, a number of health and housing officials contribute. Here Dr. James Ford presents a paper that admittedly proves nothing but that by its sanity and suggestiveness points the way by which something may be proved. Heretofore we have relied too much upon assumptions and as a result a group of skeptics has arisen who find easy marks in exaggerated claims. Dr. Ford and those who discuss his paper leave us in no doubt as to the desirability of sunlight and fresh air, sanitary conveniences and honest construction.

There is a discussion of the housing needs of Providence, based upon a survey that had been made during the preceding five months and supplementing an inspection trip the day before.

JOHN IHLDER.

Philadelphia.



WACKER'S MANUAL OF THE PLAN OF CHICAGO. By Walter D. Moody, Managing Director, Chicago Plan Commission. Second (revised) edition, 1916. 10 x 8, pp. 137. Illustrated.

This important book, named for and dedicated to, but not written by Charles H. Wacker, one of the Chicago Plan pioneers, is confessedly "especially prepared for study in the schools of Chicago," and must therefore be considered as a school text-book. It is a clumsy volume of 137 pages, of the odd size—for a text or reference book—of $7\frac{1}{2}$ x 10 inches, and is in poor taste typographically, seeming either to have been planned to utilize old illustrative material, or more probably to represent bizarre ideas in book making. Indeed, it is printed as if the format had been designed in a newspaper composing-room, rather than by a capable printer of books, acquainted with the usages of good form and of library shelves.

But notwithstanding this mechanical handicap, Mr. Moody has presented a wholly admirable volume, from the stand-

point of aims and contents. It must not only make a strong appeal to the school children of Chicago, for whose study it is designed, but be of immense value to students of city planning anywhere, or of any age. It discusses Chicago—the beginnings, the doings, and the future of the great city.

Mr. Moody's view of Chicago is not oppressively modest, as may be inferred from the opening paragraph of his introduction, in which he says, "Chicago is destined to become the center of the modern world, if the opportunities in her reach are intelligently realized, and if the city can receive a sufficient supply of trained and enlightened citizens." Possibly the author has overlooked the naivete of this remark!

The setting forth of the need for planning, and the comparisons in text and in illustration with cities everywhere, give Wacker's Manual a value much more than local, wherefore it is commended to civic workers and students in general.

J. HORACE MCFARLAND.

Harrisburg, Pa.



SIXTY YEARS OF AMERICAN LIFE. By Everett P. Wheeler. New York: E. P. Dutton & Company. \$2.50.

For two generations Mr. Wheeler has represented a fine type of American citizenship. A leader in his profession, the law, he has always taken an active and militant interest in various public questions. His three chapters on municipal reform are particularly suggestive, dealing as they do with New York city politics from the time of Mayor Fernando Wood to Mayor William J. Gaynor. Concerning the latter Mr. Wheeler says: "Gaynor, who had co-operated with Shepard in the prosecution of McKane for the election frauds in King's county, commanded the public confidence to such an extent that he was elected mayor although his companions on the ticket were defeated." Further as indicating the progress of reform up to the administration of Mayor Mitchel (which is not included within the scope of his book) he declares, "It may truly be said of all the administrations

since that of Mayor Low, that they have not relapsed into the corruption and inefficiency which marked some of the previous ones." His account of Seth Low's campaigns and his work as mayor, abounding as they do in personal experiences, constitute one of the most substantial parts of this volume, for Mr. Wheeler was a part, and an important part, of the story which he tells. In reading this volume it must be constantly borne in mind that Mr. Wheeler's interest is in the political and governmental phases of municipal life rather than along social lines.

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THE SECOND SOCIAL YEAR BOOK.

The Human Problems and Resources of Cleveland, Sixth City. Published by the Cleveland Federation of Charity and Philanthropy, Cleveland, Ohio, December, 1916. Pp. 125. 35 cents.

The second Social Year Book of Cleveland is well worth careful study and attention and is valuable for two reasons. First, because it sets forth in vivid and clear outline, profusely illustrated with telling photographs, the achievements of the past year, individual and co-operative, of the fifty-nine different organizations which have composed the Cleveland federation for charity and philanthropy. Each body has reported in interesting fullness its aims and actual work done, officers, board of managers, staff, and treasurers' report.

It is of value secondly because it sets forth by detailed statement of past history and by announcement of a plan about to be consummated, a process of co-ordination and co-operation of all the welfare agencies of the city of Cleveland, resulting in the formation of the Cleveland welfare federation, to have, under the direction of Sherman C. Kingsley, the task of correlating all the welfare effort of the city. Cleveland is, therefore, forging ahead of many of her sister cities, both of higher and of lower rank, and it behoves them to learn of her how to bring about union of the multiplicity of organizations obtaining in every large city.

(REV.) EDWIN S. LANE.

Philadelphia.

COUNTER CURRENTS. By Agnes Repplier. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Company. Pp. 292. \$1.25 net.

Miss Repplier has won a substantial reputation as a clever and forceful essayist, and in this volume she employs all her abilities in presenting what is popularly called the reactionary position. Believing as she does that we are "rising dizzily and fearlessly on the crest of a great wave of sentiment," she does not hesitate to apply her trenchant pen and wit to pointing out some of the danger spots in such a course. Appearing originally in the pages of *The Atlantic*, each essay deals with some phase of current thought or movement as only Miss Repplier can—that is felicitously and epigrammatically. Her reasoning may not always be sound as rules of logic go—nevertheless what she has to say and the way she says it challenge the attention of those who have a sense of humor and who are seeking to leave the world a better place because they have lived in it.

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RECLAIMING THE BALLOT. By Ward Macauley. New York: Duffield and Company. Pp. 109. 75 cents.

A popular account of the methods in vogue at American elections, with suggestions for ballot reform, which "should precede all other reforms." The chapter on this subject is mainly based on B. P. DeWitt's "The Progressive Movement."¹ Our author's program "contemplates nothing less than a complete civic center in each election precinct, housed in a permanent building, properly equipped for the important work to be undertaken." This suggestion does not materially differ from the good government club plan of the last decade of the nineteenth century and from the ward clubs of the Philadelphia Republican organization, except that the school is discussed as an available place for headquarters. The Republican clubs (which are gradually giving way to building associations in many wards) are held together by officeholders. It is a perti-

¹ See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. iv, p. 682.

nent question to ask who will keep the civic precinct clubs together, which opens up a most interesting field of political speculation.



AMERICAN YEAR BOOK. A Record of Events and Progress, 1916. Edited by Francis G. Wickware. New York: D. Appleton and Company. Pp. 862. \$4.

In addition to the department of municipal government, the Year Book contains articles dealing with the following subjects which relate to or bear upon municipal problems: waterways and harbors, public service, municipal ownership, lighting, water supply, sewage and refuse disposal, finance, taxation, fire losses, social centers, settlements, surveys, remedial loans, tu-

berculosis prevention, recreation, child welfare, juvenile courts, social hygiene, crime and penology, the liquor problem, socialism, immigration, vocational education, unemployment, charity, engineering and public health, education and libraries.



BIBLIOGRAPHY

The conversion of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW from a quarterly into a bi-monthly leaves only a month to be covered between the March and May issues. In view of this, the editor of the department is of the opinion that the bibliography should be omitted from this issue. It will appear again in the July issue and, barring unforeseen events, regularly in each issue thereafter.

II. BOOKS RECEIVED

THE COUNTY: THE "DARK CONTINENT" OF AMERICAN POLITICS. By H. S. Gilbertson. New York: The National Short Ballot Organization. 7½ x 5. pp. 297. \$2 postpaid.

HUMAN WELFARE WORK IN CHICAGO. Edited by Col. H. C. Carbaugh, of the Civil Service Board of South Park Commissioners. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co. pp. 262. Illustrated. \$1.50.

JOURNAL OF THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES. Volume III, 1917. Edited by Mrs. Lillie Hamilton French. Boston: The Boston Book Co. pp. 262. \$1.50.

THE MAN IN COURT. By Frederic DeWitt Wells, Justice of Municipal Court of New York City. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 7½ x 5. pp. 283. \$1.50.

THE MINIMUM COST OF LIVING: A STUDY OF FAMILIES OF LIMITED INCOME IN NEW YORK CITY. By Winifred Stuart Gibbs, Supervisor Home Economics, New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, Lecturer in Household Arts, Teachers College, Columbia University. New York: The Macmillan Company. pp. 93. \$1.

MUNICIPAL FUNCTIONS. By Herman G. James, Associate Professor of Govern-

ment, Director of the Bureau of Municipal Research and Reference, University of Texas. New York: D. Appleton & Company. National Municipal League Series. pp. 369. \$2.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF CITIZENSHIP. By Arland D. Weeks, Professor of Education in the North Dakota Agricultural College. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co. 7 x 4. pp. 152. 50 cents.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EIGHTH NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON CITY PLANNING, CLEVELAND, JUNE 5-7, 1916. Published by the Conference, Flavel Shurtleff, secretary, 19 Congress st., Boston. pp. 275.

PUBLIC UTILITY RATES. By Harry Barker, B.S. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc. 9 x 6. pp. 387. \$4.

THE STATE AND GOVERNMENT. By Jeremiah S. Young, Ph.D., Professor of Political Science in the University of Minnesota. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co. The National Social Science Series. 7 x 4½. pp. 180. 50 cents.

TOWN PLANNING FOR SMALL COMMUNITIES. By Charles S. Bird, Jr. New York: D. Appleton & Company. National Municipal League Series. pp. 492. Illustrated. \$2.

III. REVIEWS OF REPORTS

Proposed Electric Railways for the City of Sydney.¹—No one who is really interested in rapid transit matters should neglect to read J. J. C. Bradfield's recent report on Proposed Electric Railways for the City of Sydney, N. S. W. In spite of the war, the government of New South Wales is carrying out at the present time a comprehensive plan for the construction of a rapid transit system for Sydney and its suburbs, including the electrification of existing steam railroad lines, the building of extensions and of subways for trains and surface cars, the initial cost being estimated at no less than \$50,000,000. The complete plans, as approved, including the construction of two immense bridges over Sydney harbor, involve a total cost of no less than \$100,000,000. Considering the size of Sydney, these figures are rather surprising, for at the end of 1914, there were only 110,700 persons inside the city boundary, and 752,500 in the city and its suburbs. But Sydney has long been noted as a progressive city in transit matters, as shown by the fact that for the year 1914 there were 544 rides per capita, against 337 for New York City.

Mr. Bradfield's report opens with a discussion of the principles of rapid transit and electrification of suburban lines, based on his observations in Europe and America, and, while most of the facts are familiar to American engineers, his discussion of them forms one of the best treatises on rapid transit yet written. The present plans for Sydney are the result of many projects and investigations covering no less than 60 years, and based on the very latest practice, American experience being largely followed.

In several respects, however, the Sydney rapid transit system will be in advance of anything yet carried out in America, which

makes the report so interesting. For example, the new rapid transit lines will be united with the electrified suburban steam lines so as to form one unified system with through routes, like the plan recently urged for Chicago by the city club. There will be no changing of cars such as is required of all suburban passengers coming into New York at the Grand Central, Pennsylvania, Long Island, and New Jersey railroad stations.

The Sydney lines will also be unique in having a capacity of 80 trains an hour each way on each track, or two and one-third times the capacity of the New York subway tracks with their limit of 34 trains an hour per track. This immense increase in capacity is made possible by adopting in Sydney the plan unfortunately rejected in New York of having the main stations all of the reservoir type, with each track branching into two, so that a two track line has four tracks at the stations, and two trains can stop in each direction at the same time.

In the heart of the city, all the stations for trains and surface cars will be underground except two. The only elevated structure will be along the waterfront, and will be ornamental in character, with a monumental station on the circular quay. Outside the center of the city, the rapid transit lines will run on private property instead of along the streets.

Like Boston, Sydney will place the street cars underground in the congested section in a \$9,000,000 subway system, but this is merely to relieve the streets, and the mistake is not made of expecting these surface car subways to act as a real rapid transit system, which is otherwise and independently provided for.

To many persons, the most interesting feature of the Sydney scheme will be its unique combination of surface lines, rapid transit and suburban lines. These will all be welded into one system in almost ideal fashion. Boston has had for about 15 years a single fare for elevated, subway, and surface lines, with free transfers at all

¹ New South Wales: Report on the Proposed Electric Railways for the City of Sydney. By J. J. C. Bradfield, M.E., M. Inst. C. E., Chief Engineer: Metropolitan Railway Commission. Sydney: W. A. Gillies, Government Printer, 1916. Cloth; 7 x 11 in., pp. 165; 56 plates.

stations between the different lines. But Sydney will go still further in bringing all the suburban railroad lines into the new system. Not only will electric suburban trains come into the central subway system, the same way as the rapid transit trains, but the suburban trolley lines will be used as feeders for the existing railroad lines; and the suburban stations and rapid transit stations will all be planned for the most convenient transferring between trains and surface cars. It will be possible to take a trolley car at one's home to the nearest railroad station, merely showing the conductor a season ticket, and then board an electric train which will leave you at your office, without having to buy a ticket each time or to bother with transfers.

It is a curious fact that this perfect combination of railroad, surface, and subway lines is hardly possible anywhere except in Australia, and is absolutely out of the question in America, and even in England, France, and Germany; because it requires the ownership of all transportation lines by one and the same authority, in this case the government of New South Wales, which owns the trolley lines instead of the city of Sydney. England cannot have such unified transit facilities in spite of the many municipal tramway systems, because the railroads and tube railways are privately owned. In Germany, where the railroads are all owned by the state, the trolley lines are all municipal or private property.

The initial fares proposed on the new lines are two cents for the central section, this amount also to be added at first to existing steam fares, to pay for passengers being carried through the heart of the city. Passengers coming in over the rapid transit extensions will pay four and six cents according to distance, or the same fare as on existing surface lines, though the time will be about cut in half. Later on, the fare will be reduced to considerably less than existing surface fares, and the additional charge to suburban passengers will be reduced below two cents.

There is only one serious criticism to be made of the Sydney rapid transit system:

the decision not to try to furnish adequate seats at the rush hours but to adopt the new Brooklyn rapid transit car, which was designed primarily for standing loads, and has proved very unsatisfactory in a number of respects, such as its lack and arrangement of seats, its poor lighting, and its inadequate ventilation.

If Mr. Bradfield had studied the question of rush hour traffic more thoroughly, especially in England, he would have learned that it is not only possible to provide a seat for every passenger under the worst existing conditions, but the English municipal managers would have told him that, in order to get every possible passenger and the maximum income, it is absolutely necessary to furnish substantially more seats than passengers at every hour of the day. Why the knowledge of this important fact, affecting so much the health and comfort of passengers and the earnings of companies, has been confined to English municipal managers, and has never been appreciated by so-called practical electric railway men in America is a puzzle on which the writer has worked 15 years without finding an answer. Why the regulating authorities in America still accept the company point of view that seats cannot be furnished is still more puzzling.

If the Interborough rapid transit company, operating the New York Subway, had been far-sighted enough to have abandoned their present car and adopted the Illinois Central type, as urged for the last 10 years, they could not only have scrapped the old equipment and continued to pay dividends on it, but would have made a clean profit every year of about \$1,500,000 and would have been giving every passenger a seat even at the rush hours for these past 10 years. The only valid objection to the Illinois Central car has been the old excuse that things were different in New York from anywhere else. The practical American railway man can sometimes "out-theorize" the most impractical theorist, if he doesn't want to change his methods; and the cherished idea that strap-hanging pays seems to be too deep-rooted to be overcome, even

though the contrary has proved to be the fact.

It is curious that in the recent electrification of lines in the Australian city of Melbourne, the English engineers adopted the Illinois Central type of car which Mr. Bradfield rejected in favor of the Brooklyn type, which has only 78 seats in the rush hours, whereas the former type seats 130. It is to be regretted that a government project should adopt the false and unnecessary standards of short-sighted American companies, especially a project with such unusual merits as that for Sydney.

JOHN P. FOX.

New York City.

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Report on Dock Employment in New York City and Recommendations for Its Regulation.¹—The casual laborer, the man who works off and on, five or six hours a day, three or four days a week, is the subject of this report. The type is represented by the dock worker, the longshoreman who loads and unloads ships in New York harbor.

Longshoreman C, described in the report, worked four hours on Monday, three hours on Tuesday and had no work Wednesday. Thursday he went to another pier and got two hours' work and Friday he snatched another hour. Saturday he got five hours again on the first pier. He worked a total of 15 hours during that week spread over five days and made about \$6.00. Another week his experience might be that of longshoreman E, who worked twelve or thirteen hours every week day and two and one-half hours on Sunday making 78½ hours in all. After which there might be three or four days of no work. The effects of such irregular employment may easily be imagined. A high death rate from accidents, pneumonia and tuberculosis, bad habits, poverty and low standards of living are inevitable results for the majority.

Mayor Mitchel's permanent committee on unemployment reports the conditions of employment in this occupation and outlines a plan for regularizing the work.

¹ Mayor's committee on unemployment, New York city, Oct., 1916.

The report is in two parts,—A—describing the present conditions, and B—explaining the plan of regularization. The description of present conditions is in the main a summary of Charles B. Barnes' excellent and exhaustive work, "The Longshoreman," recently published by the Russell Sage Foundation. The suggested scheme for reform is based on foreign experience, primarily on the Liverpool dock scheme originated and now directed by R. Williams who has written a full report on the subject.

The main features of the recommendations for steadying employment are (1) elimination of promiscuous hiring at each of the docks; (2) establishment of five hiring centers with a central clearing house to connect them and "stands" and waiting rooms to eliminate the long hours of idleness in waiting till the ship comes in; (3) administration of the clearing house system by a public employment bureau to link it up with the general labor market; and (4) direction of the policies of the dock regularization scheme by a joint committee of employers and workmen in the industry.

The report makes a valuable contribution in the analysis of the problems of irregularity in dock employment, and it outlines the general nature of the solutions to be worked out in a clear and logical manner. The committee modestly disclaims any desire to have exhausted the subject. It merely presents its plan as a basis for discussion and leaves it to men in more immediate and permanent touch with the industry to work out the practical details. No doubt we shall have to look to the employers and workers to put the scheme into practice. But the initial analysis made by the committee will not have to be done over again. The student, the government official and the men engaged in the industry will all find in this report the beginnings of any work they may wish to undertake on the subject of regularizing casual labor.

In an appendix to the report, the committee outlines a scheme for establishing on a limited scale permanent employment for longshoremen at weekly wages.

The idea is to incorporate an organization of longshoremen which will contract with the steamship companies for the services of its members and pay the men weekly wages from its treasury. The suggestion might well be adopted by the longshoremen's unions, and perhaps the United States shipping board, with its very broad powers, could be induced to try the scheme as an experiment.



Municipal Activities and Publications of Stockholm.—The numerous municipal and government reports that are published in Sweden may justly be rated as models of clearness, completeness, and accuracy. It may safely be asserted that they measure up to the standards of any country and are superior to most publications in this field. Public administration reached a high level in Sweden at a comparatively early date, and this accounts in part for the excellence of Swedish public reports; in part it is accounted for by the thoroughness and emphasis upon the practical that is characteristic at all times of Swedish scholars and administrators.

The statistical reports are particularly noteworthy. Sweden was one of the first countries to gather statistical data systematically and to issue reports based on these data. The earliest statistical collections are the exchequer rolls of the old treasury, the beginnings of which go back to the middle of the sixteenth century. In 1749, due largely to the influence of the newly created Swedish Academy of Science, the Tahles Archive was established, whose

function it was to collect data from all parishes concerning births, marriages, deaths and their causes, and population. The population was classified according to sex, age, civil status, and occupations. At the same time diocesan authorities were instructed to keep full and accurate records. Six years later a special Tahles Archive Commission was created, which made abstracts of the data collected by the Tahles Archive. It has been claimed that this was probably the first public statistical office in the world. Likewise it has been asserted that the Swedish general population census of 1749 was the first systematic national census ever taken. This census report for a long time stood unique in respect to reliability and wealth of detail.

As a result of an exhaustive study by a special committee, the Swedish statistical system was reorganized in 1856, when the Tahles Archive was superseded by the Central Bureau of Statistics, and the Statistical Commission. The latter became in 1886 the Statistical Tahles Commission. Since 1860 the statistical authorities in Sweden have published a yearbook, *Statistisk årskrift*, by means of which the gist of important reports are made more easily accessible to the general public. This publication also gives summaries of international statistics.

The larger cities also have their special statistical bureaus and publications. Thus in Stockholm there has been established a municipal bureau of statistics which collects and publishes statistical data relating to the corporate life of the city. The city council or any of its committees may order this bureau to make special investigations for the purpose of getting data on any question before them.

As in the case of the national government, the Stockholm statistical bureau publishes a statistical yearbook, which during the last few years has been edited by J. Guinchard, the foremost statistician of Sweden to-day. This publication of over six hundred pages gives very detailed data regarding sanitation, climatic conditions through a long series of years, population, mortality, education, attend-

¹Statistisk årsbok för Stockholm (statistical yearbook for the city of Stockholm). Statistical bureau of Stockholm, 1913; pp. xii, 572.

Stockholms stadskalender (handbook for the city government of Stockholm). Statistical bureau of Stockholm, 1914, 1915, 1916. Pp. xiv, 477, etc.

Kommunalförordningshandbok för Stockholm (handbook of laws and ordinances of Stockholm). Statistical bureau of Stockholm, 1915; pp. xiii, 1071.

Berättelse angående Stockholms kommunalförvaltning (annual report of the municipal government of Stockholm). Statistical bureau of Stockholm, 1912, 1913, 1914. Pp. 198, etc.

Utländskt statistiskt o. d. tryck förvävat år 1915 av Sveriges offentliga bibliotek (catalog of statistical publications and reports and kindred literature acquired by the statistical bureau of Stockholm during 1915).

ance at art galleries and museums, elections, crime, building activity, business and transportation, taxes, real estate holdings of the city, municipally owned utilities, such as gas, electricity, and water works, and city finances. The tables of contents consist of parallel columns of Swedish and French texts and all headings of statistical tables are also given in these two languages, thus making the data intelligible to practically all students of municipal affairs.

A few examples will suffice to show to what extent the report goes into details. The table of the per capita living expenses per annum includes no less than fifty-nine items, ranging from lobsters to house rent. The books also show at a glance how many fire alarms have come to the central station within a given year, how many of them have come over the telephone, and how many through the alarm system, the average number of miles traveled by the apparatus to each fire, and the average time consumed.

Another annual publication, the *Stadskalendar* or handbook, presents clear and concise data concerning the organization and activities of the various city departments. Especially valuable and interesting are the brief historical statements that are given for each department. Thus we learn that the street cleaning system and fire department had their origin in 1661, and the charity board as early as 1527.

The handbook makes it clear that the principal legislative and administrative body of Stockholm is the board of aldermen, consisting of one hundred members. The board of magistrates of twenty members formerly had wide powers, but the tendency has been to curtail these. The magistrates' power is now limited to the exercising of control over the board of aldermen on a few points and to the appointment of members to a few boards. The governor-general represents the crown in the city. This office, too, has been shorn of much power during the last decades.

In the election of the city aldermen the so-called proportionate system of balloting prevails, according to which a citizen or corporation casts a number of votes pro-

portionate to incomes and property holdings. The maximum number of votes any individual or corporation may cast is limited to forty. Women enjoy absolute equality with men in municipal affairs, both in voting and in holding office. The annual publication for 1916 gives the number of women members of the council as seven.

The board of aldermen controls practically all the departments of the city, and its functions are extremely varied. Its budget for 1916 amounted to 23,862,500 crowns (one crown is approximately equal to 28 cents), of which 9,311,000 crowns were for permanent improvements. Thus a city slaughter house was built at an estimated expense of 6,400,000 crowns, and work was progressing on a large municipal power station which is to supply the city with electric energy for illumination, motive power, and heating. Street cleaning alone involved an expenditure of 2,259,702 crowns in 1915, but the money was well spent, for Stockholm has a high reputation for cleanliness. Food inspection is extremely rigid and requires a large number of officials. The total expenses for educational purposes were, in 1916, 4,150,725 crowns, of which a part was contributed by the state. It may be noted, among matters of special interest, that dental clinics are provided in all public schools, as well as swimming basins and gymnasiums. Swimming is compulsory for all children in the schools. The city owns an entire island in the archipelago, which is used exclusively as a summer home for frail children. In addition there are approximately thirty-five workshops where the children of the poor may spend their time during vacation days or after school hours in interesting and useful work, or in play under the guidance of teachers. The city gives financial aid to something over ninety charitable and quasi-charitable institutions.

The fire department is a matter of great pride to the citizens of Stockholm. At the end of 1916 there was not a horse connected with the department; every piece of apparatus was motor driven. This

department also furnishes ambulance service for the entire city for man and beast. Thus a teamster who has a sick horse merely telephones to the fire department, which immediately and at nominal cost furnishes an ambulance for transporting the animal to the city veterinary institute.

Another publication of the bureau of statistics is the handbook of city ordinances, a book of 921 pages, which in an ingeniously devised form presents the laws that govern the municipality. The ordinances contain exceedingly detailed provisions, but by the aid of a very complete index the student can easily find his way to the desired data. A supplement of 142 pages contains an index to previous handbooks.

Annual reports of the activities of the various city departments are also published by the statistical bureau under the direction of the city council.

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Unification of Local Governments in Chicago.¹—Larger cities are realizing that the separation of city and county government is clumsy, wasteful, and inconvenient, and are beginning to consider the consolidation of the taxing units within the greater urban districts. Recently, the Chicago bureau of public efficiency has published a brief general study "to show the need for complete unification of the local governments within the metropolitan community of Chicago, and to present a plan of responsible governmental organization under which greater efficiency might be expected from public officials." If started immediately, this program could be materialized in six years. The study is not in detail, but indicates in a general way the consolidation which is desired and the results which would accrue.

The report shows the advantages of bringing under one government the whole of the territory now included in the sanitary district of Chicago, which comprises, besides 22 taxing agencies in Chicago,

108 taxing units in Cook county, contiguous to the city. The remaining units of Cook county would be ceded to the adjacent counties. The units within the sanitary district are socially, economically, and industrially one community; yet politically they are separate.

To govern this proposed district, it is recommended that all local legislative and administrative bodies be merged into one, in order that duplication of expensive governmental machinery, the lack of coordination and indirect responsibility might be eliminated. It is proposed, however, that the judiciary have a separate identity. It is believed by the Chicago bureau that a modification of the city-manager form of government, to be known as the council-manager plan, would give better government than any other scheme. Under this proposed organization a council of 35 aldermen, one from each ward, would be elected on a non-partisan ballot for four years, subject to recall. This body would have the power to appoint a mayor who would be the city manager, a controller, and a city clerk, who would hold office for an indefinite period and be subject to dismissal at any time and would be the responsible executive head of the city, with power to appoint and remove department heads.

The suggested advantages from the proposed unification and reorganization are enormous. It is estimated the economies would amount to at least \$3,000,000 annually. And the monetary savings are really minor when considering the advantages of centralized responsibility, the attracting to public employment of men of exceptional ability, the improved service, the formulation and prosecution of large municipal improvements, and the increased civic pride and spirit which it is believed would result. The Chicago bureau has presented a very logical and convincing arraignment of the expensiveness and efficiency due to the separation of the county and city government, and has "done its bit" in stimulating a public demand for better things. However, the recommendation concerning the type of government, although secondary in im-

¹A report by the Chicago bureau of public efficiency.

portance to the suggestion relative to the consolidation of the city and county governments, should receive careful thought regarding its practicability. However successful city-manager government may have proven for small cities, in large communities its machinery may require substantial adjustment to meet the conditions of more responsibility and less civic conscience.

Since the National Municipal League has enlarged its field of activities, it might find an opportunity for constructive work in a comparative study of the consolidation plans of Denver, Cleveland, Cincinnati, Chicago, Oakland, San Diego, and elsewhere. A critical statement of results in Denver should be of particular value.

LENT D. UPSON.¹

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Additional * Powers for New Jersey Municipalities.²—The New Jersey legislature of 1914 enacted a statute which provided that each city with the commission type of government "shall have all powers which it shall deem necessary or convenient for its government, or for its welfare and prosperity, not in conflict with the laws applicable to all cities of this state or the provisions of the constitution." This liberal home rule statute was declared to be in conflict with the state constitution on somewhat technical grounds. The legislature of 1916 therefore authorized Governor Fielder to appoint a commission of three to revise and codify the statutes of the state relating to cities and other municipalities, and to prepare bills delegating additional powers thereto (chapter 84 of the Laws of 1916). The commission was promptly created and a series of meetings was held in Trenton and other cities of the state to which all persons interested in municipal government were invited; and the report was made to the governor on January 22, 1917.

The report calls attention to the fact that the constitutional amendment of

1875, which prohibited special and local legislation for New Jersey municipalities, did not accomplish its purpose. A statute could still be enacted applicable to all townships, to all boroughs, to all villages, to all towns, or to all of any one of the four classes into which cities were divided. Moreover, a city could prepare a charter and have the legislature enact it as applicable to any city of its class which might adopt it by a majority vote. Of course no other city desired this special charter so that the act was in effect a special charter for a particular city. Therefore, to clear the field, the commission prepared a number of bills for the repeal of hundreds of acts, or parts thereof, constituting about one third of the entire compiled statutes of New Jersey.

The commission further prepared a bill, which was introduced on January 27, 1917, as Senate Bill No. 7, extending numerous powers to all municipalities of the state, whether a borough with 19 inhabitants, a city with less than 100, a village with 6,000, a town with 40,000, a township with 20,000, or a city with nearly half a million population, for all of these exist in New Jersey. These powers include such as the right to own and operate wharves, docks, abattoirs, markets, street railways, heating plants, coal yards, ice plants, etc.

The commission did not attempt to confer complete powers on municipalities by a "general welfare clause," as was attempted for commissioned-governed cities in the act of 1914, because, in the words of the commission, "attempts of this kind have been unsuccessful elsewhere, and the legislative custom of specifying in detail the powers granted is so well established that it is unsafe to attempt a radical change in this method. Such a clause, without a specification of powers granted, would leave the powers granted uncertain," and in the hands of the courts because of various constitutional restrictions.

Considering our system of constitutional limitations, the commission no doubt acted in accordance with expediency. However, one can but regret that means have not been found for granting to municipalities all powers not prohibited, which was at-

¹Detroit bureau of governmental research.

²Report of the commission to revise and codify New Jersey statutes relating to municipalities. (Trenton, New Jersey, January 22, 1917. Pp. 354.)

tempted for commission-governed cities in the act of 1914, and which has long been enjoyed by continental cities.

It should be understood that the commission made no recommendations regarding the structure of municipal government, because it was created for the sole purpose of systematizing and increasing the powers of municipalities.

FRANK ABBOTT MAGRUDER.

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Chicago Commission on the Liquor Problem.—On July 12, 1915, the city council of Chicago directed the mayor to appoint a committee of six aldermen and three citizens "to consider in a comprehensive way the medical, moral, political, financial, social and economic aspects of the use of intoxicating liquors in Chicago; to consider the chief methods of licensing, regulating and prohibiting the sale of intoxicating liquors; and to recommend to this council the best practical policy for this municipality to pursue." This pamphlet is "a preliminary report together with such recommendations as an incomplete study of the problem at this time appears to warrant." The report may be briefly summarized as follows:

1. The commission declares that above all it has been firmly impressed with the fact that "what Chicago needs in the way of better regulation of the sale of alcoholic beverages, is a strict enforcement of existing laws and ordinances." To this statement probably every "wet" city in the United States will say "Amen." In Chicago the commission found the woeful lack of law enforcement to be so notorious that not only has the populace grown callous, but that also it no longer accepts in good faith any order issued which has to do with the regulation of saloons and other places where alcoholic beverages are sold.

2. "Why are the laws regulating the sale of liquors not enforced?" The answer given is "because of a sinister political influence, law enforcement as it applies to the liquor is a joke and a byword.

¹Preliminary report to the mayor and aldermen of the city of Chicago. Chicago, Illinois. December, 1916. Pp. 65.

The police are afraid to do their duty, because if they offend someone who is a political power in the ward, they find themselves transferred 'for the good of the service.' The responsibility rests higher up. The whole system is vicious and calls for an immediate remedy." A further cause is found in the fact that the saloon-keeper who conducts an orderly saloon soon finds his trade going to his competitor who is permitted to violate the law and he must also follow suit if he would maintain his business. Thus arises a wholesale contempt for law and order.

3. The commission makes recommendations which are of considerable general value, some of which are here noted: (a) the divorcing of the liquor business "from pull, preference, and special privilege." (b) Greater care regarding the licensee, full statement as to when and under what conditions licenses should be revoked. (c) Reduction in the number of saloons per ward resident. (d) Suggestion that the interior of all saloons be kept well lighted and that the front be unclosed and unobstructed except by transparent window glass "so that a clear view of the interior of the premises of such saloons may be had at all times. No booths, stalls, wineroms, closed or partially closed rooms of any character should be allowed in places where alcoholic beverages are sold." A necessary and radical step, which will probably keep many citizens out of the saloon and especially women. (e) No gambling of any kind to be allowed or sale of intoxicating liquors to minors. (f) All treating to be forbidden.

We miss in the report any recommendation regarding the suppression of cabaret features and of the political club both of which have grown in most communities to be almost as pernicious as the saloon.

EDWIN S. LANE.

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First Annual Report of New York Bureau of Attendance.—The bureau of attendance in New York city is a bureau of the department of education which exercises functions relating to compulsory school attendance, juvenile labor, school census and general child welfare activities.

Its first report (for the year ending July 31, 1915), a volume of 216 pages, outlines clearly the functions and policies of the bureau, describes in considerable detail its administrative procedures, presents adequate statistical data in support of the most important parts of the text, narrates several case histories to give the critical reader a clear insight into the character of its work, and contains valuable constructive recommendations for the development of the bureau's work during the next year.

Since the relation between truancy, juvenile delinquency and adult criminality appears to be a close one, it is evident that effective work against truancy will result in lessening the work of the other public agencies. It is on this account that the first report of the New York bureau of attendance should be carefully studied throughout the United States in order that each city may adopt as many of the policies described as may be found suited to its needs.

LEONHARD FELIX FULD.

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"Highways and Byways—A problem in Upkeep."—A review of this annual report of the Philadelphia bureau of highways and street cleaning emphasizes the fact that its chief has set a standard worthy of imitation by municipal authorities generally. It is fortunately compiled in such form that the citizen will be able to read understandingly and with interest of the several activities of the bureau. An admirable feature which will appeal to laymen and engineers alike is the profuse

¹Summary of operations for 1915 of the bureau of highways and street cleaning of the department of public works of Philadelphia by William H. Connell, chief. 138 pages.

illustration of the work of its several departments. While presented in a semi-popular vein, nevertheless the report is of great value to engineers specializing in the field of highway engineering. As of particular value to the municipal engineer are to be noted the detailed descriptions of the concrete service test road on Oxford pike, the Byberry and Bensalem service test road, the planning boards of the bureau of highways, and the excellent and comprehensive tables of cost data covering street cleaning, and the construction and maintenance of the several types of roads and pavements laid in Philadelphia.

ARTHUR H. BLANCHARD.²

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Governors' Messages.—The March 17 bulletin of the public affairs information service is devoted exclusively to a digest of the inaugural messages of the governors to the legislatures of 38 states in session during the winter of 1917. In several cases the messages of retiring governors have also been included. As the sessions of the Florida and Georgia legislatures convene at a later date, the messages of their governors together with those of Arizona, Idaho, Indiana, Oklahoma and Texas will be published in a later bulletin.

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Street Railway Franchises.—The October, 1916, number of the Minneapolis *Municipal Statistics* is a "street railway franchise issue," so called because it contains a condensation of the report of City Engineer Cappelen on the physical value of the properties of the Minneapolis Street Railway Company. This valuation was authorized by the city council on August 27, 1915. The report was submitted on September 29, 1916.

²Consulting highway engineer, New York.